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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JANUARY 1896.

ART. I.—EARLY CATHOLIC WITNESS
UPON ANGLICAN ORDERS.

THE controversy regarding Anglican Orders, that seemed to have been exhausted, has lately reawakened with renewed vigour, and entered upon new phases both theological and historical. In the present paper I intend to confine myself to a purely historical research, and to the ascertaining of facts. What was the attitude towards Anglican Orders of Catholic theologians during the half-century that followed the establishment of the Elizabethan hierarchy? The late Canon Estcourt, in his "Question of Anglican Ordinations discussed," printed in 1873, after several quotations from Catholic writers, and after showing that they all repudiate the validity of the new Orders from a Catholic point of view, concludes with these words :

It is much to be regretted that none of the Catholic writers of the time have left a clear and plain statement of the facts as they occurred about Parker's consecration, and also of the reasons which guided the authorities of the Church in their dealings with those who received orders according to the Anglican rite.*

It seems to me that the omission which is here regretted deserves attentive consideration, for it can scarcely be accidental. I have, therefore, endeavoured to complete Canon Estcourt's catena by a wider search among our old writers. I cannot say that no extant testimony or argument on this subject has

* Page 117.

escaped me, for some of our old writers can with difficulty be found. But no author of any note has been omitted, and every passage has been given in full, as well as carefully examined in the context, to see whether there was anything that could explain or modify its meaning, since my one object has been to ascertain the truth—that is to say, the true answer to the questions: What did these writers say? What did they mean? In not one passage here quoted is there any allusion to a difference of opinion as existing among Catholics on the subject, so that I may fairly conclude that, if anything has eluded my search, it would neither add to, nor modify the historical facts or theological judgments found in the following extracts.

From this somewhat larger survey the observation of Canon Estcourt recurs with greater force—not one of these numerous writers gives a clear statement of the facts as they occurred about Parker's consecration! But this silence—which excited the learned Canon's regret, as if it were a literary accident, as if men, who must have been well informed, had omitted to hand down their knowledge to us—appears to me in another light. The writers are too numerous, and their discussions too full, to allow us to set up a hypothesis of mere omission. It seems quite clear that they tell us nothing, because they knew nothing, and they knew nothing either because nothing was known by others, or because whatever was known was carefully concealed from them. Their silence does not justify us in concluding that the consecration of Parker by Barlow, assisted by Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, on December 17, 1559, as related in the Lambeth Register, had never taken place. But, supposing it to have taken place, it certainly was not known to Catholics. We shall listen to Harding taunting Jewell and provoking him in every way to say what consecration he had, and who consecrated him, and whence his consecrator derived his power or his authority. It seems incredible that, had he known of Barlow and his company, he should not have brought in their names. It must be remembered, too, that not one of those names was mentioned in print by any writer, Catholic or Protestant, with one possible exception, in reference to the matter of ordination, before the year 1600.*

* I do not pretend to have searched Protestant writers as I have Catholic ;

When the story of the Nag's Head Ordination grew into shape at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Protestant writers very rightly argued that, had such a thing taken place, it would have been known to the Catholic writers of the sixteenth century, and would most certainly have been brought forward by them and thrown in the face of the Protestant bishops. The silence, therefore, of Sander, Harding, Stapleton and the rest, as regards the tavern farce, is taken as an irrefragable proof that they had never heard of such a thing.* I cannot but admit the fairness and force of this argument. It applies, however, equally to the Lambeth consecration of Parker. Catholic writers never mention it. The story gave rise to surprise and incredulity when it was brought forward by Mason in 1613. Clearly not one of them had heard about it before. The first rumour among Catholics had been that Antony Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff, had consecrated the new bishops. This report was sent to Rome in 1561. It must soon have been discovered to be incorrect, since no mention of it is made later on. There may have been rumours that something in the way of ceremonial had been done; but as nothing definite was affirmed by the Protestants, no investigation could be made by the Catholics. Meantime a story was circulated that Kitchin would have performed the consecration had he not been terrified by Bonner's threats, and that thereupon Scory had played some impious buffoonery. This story

but as this matter has been long under discussion, and confirmation of the Lambeth Register has been sought on every side, we may suppose that little remains to be discovered. As regards the Act of Parliament (8 Eliz. ch. 1), declaring everything to have been done validly, and making valid everything that had been done, it recites nothing in particular, and so far from giving any new knowledge to Catholics, gave them the conviction that all had been done irregularly, and by the mere plenitude of power of the Supreme Head. A "Life of Parker," written by himself or by John Joscelyn, is also said to have been printed in 1572, in the appendix to "*De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*." This life asserts that Parker was consecrated on December 17, 1559, four bishops taking part in the rite, of whom the first is W. Cicestrensis. There are many difficulties regarding the time when this life was written and bound up with the others, but they do not affect my argument, since only fifty copies of the book were printed, and certainly the life of Parker was absent from many of these. It could not therefore in any way have influenced the knowledge of English Catholics. Besides this, it does not name the place of consecration nor give any account of the nature of the ceremonial, beyond the facts mentioned above. The same may be said of the *Historiola* of C.C.C.C.

* See "Story of the Ordination of our first Bishops thoroughly Examined," by Th. Browne, B.D., 1731.

took shape later on in the Nag's Head Ordination. The sixteenth-century writers do not refer to it, but it can scarcely be called in question that it was the talk of the Catholic prisoners in Wisbeach.* On the other hand, there is no evidence that there was so much as a vague report of the doings of Barlow on the morning of December 17.

I do not bring forward this ignorance as an argument against the fact itself, but as a proof that the proceeding must have been carefully hushed up. It is said to have taken place at a very early hour on a winter's morning. It is not recorded by Stow or any other chronicler, nor is it referred to by any of the Elizabethan controversialists. How is this to be explained? Two answers may be given. Firstly, the new bishops, who were loud in their denunciations of the popish church, did not care to parade the fact that the only orders they had were derived from an antichristian source. They would rather have it supposed that they were derived simply from the civil power, than trace back their spiritual genealogy through Cranmer to John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1333-1348, who received his episcopal consecration from Vitalis Cardinal Albano, a Roman Franciscan friar; for it is to him, not to St. Augustine, that the *orders* of every English pre-reformation bishop must be traced. Secondly, it was well known that, whatever had taken place, legal requirements had not been complied with, and though the royal or parliamentary revalidation, or *sanatio in radice* was sufficient for the new bishops and for their followers, they did not care that its nature or application should be too narrowly investigated by their adversaries.

A new question then arises. If the Catholic writers did not know the facts of the case, what is the value of their judgment? Would they have written as they did, had they known of the Lambeth consecration? Do their theological arguments cover that fact or hypothesis? The reader must judge by carefully weighing their own words. This at least is evident, that if they did not know of Barlow's action they

* "Of the truth of this relation," writes Champney, in his English treatise on the Vocation of Bishops (1616), "there are at this day as many witnesses as are alive of the priests who were prisoners with Bluett in the Castle of Wisbeach, in which place also I had it from him." Champney was in Wisbeach in 1600.

could not have founded any argument on his own supposed non-episcopal character or want of consecration. This may be discussed by us, but may not be introduced as a key to early controversy, unless indeed we suppose the knowledge of it to have been one of the reasons that made the Protestants elude investigation.

I must, however, forewarn the reader that to understand the following extracts he must distinguish between the point of view of the Elizabethan Anglicans, who scornfully rejected Catholic priesthood, and that of modern Ritualists, who claim the power to offer the Christian sacrifice of the altar, and seek to derive this power through Archbishop Parker from Cranmer and his consecrators. It is an incontrovertible fact that no member of the Protestant Church of England, during the time to which I have limited these documents, had any thought whatever of claiming the power to offer Eucharistic sacrifice. All were agreed in repudiating such a power as antichristian. Almost every altar stone in England had been taken down, broken to pieces or exposed to insult and infamy. Parker was horrified and indignant at the use for Protestant communions of chalices which had been used for celebrating Popish masses.* If the ministers of the second order were still called priests, it was in order to conform to the old laws; but the authorities, both ecclesiastical and lay, were loud in explaining that they were not mass-priests, like the popish clergy. They admitted no sacrificial priesthood, but such as belonged to all Christians alike, a power to offer spiritual and interior sacrifices. Yet they admitted and claimed for themselves a ministry, having different grades, at least by ecclesiastical institution. Of this ministry the lower grade was called by Protestants priesthood,† and the higher grade, episcopate. The controversy therefore was entirely unlike that which is now agitated. To put the matter in a rude form, the Protestant party said: "You are no ministers of Christ but priests of anti-christ," and the Catholic party retorted: "You are ministers of anti-christ and no priests of Christ." We can read all this without renewing the heat of those days; we can write about it without acrimony. The question is indeed a serious

* See his letter of March 5, 1567 (Parker's "Correspondence," p. 296).

† In Latin sacerdotium was sometimes used, but presbyteratus preferred.

one: Is there flaw in the succession? but the question: Where lies the guilt? is not, as in the days of Harding and Jewell, a personal quarrel, but a historical problem to be studied calmly.

NICOLAS SANDER (1561).

[Nicolas Sander or Saunders was born 1527. He was educated at Winchester, and became fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1548. In Queen Mary's reign he was professor of canon law at Oxford, but renounced his fellowship and left England in 1561, in company of Sir Francis Englefield. In the "Secret Archives of the Vatican," lxiv. 7-28, ff. 252-273, is a report made by him in that year to Cardinal Morone on the state of affairs in England. It is very remarkable that being in England he knew so little of the Lambeth Consecration of Parker, that he attributed the consecration of the new bishop to Kitchin. His words are, f. 266 (b)]

Of Llandaff it is doubtful if he ought to be considered a bishop, because, after the reconciliation of the kingdom under Mary, he alone is said not to have sought confirmation from the Apostolic See. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that he yielded to the schism *and consecrated bishops outside the Church*.*

ANONYMOUS (1561).

Report to Cardinal Morone.

Twelve other sees have their bishops still alive, and of them ten are in prison in the Tower of London, merely for their defence of the Catholic Faith and the authority of the Apostolic See, to which they are resolved to give evidence, and to suffer martyrdom rather than recognise any other head of the Church than the Pope. The two other bishops yet living are the Bishop of St. Asaph [Dr. Thomas Goldwell], who is at the Council of Trent by order of His Holiness, and the Bishop of Llandaff [Dr. Kitchin], who has allowed himself to be seduced by the Queen of England, and who obeys her, and *by him were consecrated all those schismatical and heretical bishops, whom the Queen has made by her own authority*.†

* From a Latin transcript made by the late Rev. Joseph Stevenson, S.J.

† The original in Italian is given by Dr. Brady in his "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy," p. 4. It is taken from a collection of papers regarding English affairs, written from England and Flanders.

JOHN RASTELL. (1564.)

[In 1560, Jewell, the new Bishop of Salisbury, preached at Paul's Cross a Sermon and Challenge to Catholics. It elicited many answers; amongst others, "A Confutation of a Sermon by M. Jewell—by John Rastell, M. of Arts and Student of Divinity." This was printed at Louvain in 1564, but written, as he says in the Preface, four years earlier. John Rastell was son of Judge Rastell, nephew of Blessed Thomas More.]

It was an abuse, saith he. And I say it was not. And why not my "nay" as good in reasoning as your "yea?" For although the commendation of some person hath made you a bishop, and by order of the Church I am a simple priest, yet as good the legs of a lark as the body of a kite (Confutation, p. 39).*

THOMAS DORMAN (1564).

Let now you (M. Jewell) and me imagine together that we were, fifty years ago, both men living together in the world, of good years and discretion; that, beginning then to dislike and suspect the religion throughout all the world used, we sought for the Church of Christ, which we were persuaded not to be amongst them who preached the word of God and ministered the Sacraments as they did [*i.e.*, the English Catholics in the year 1514], such a church (for example) as now is in England to be seen, where the head should be a layman, a woman, or a child, in nowise a priest; where should be but two Sacraments; *where there should be no sacrifice, yea, the very name should be odious*; where, in the Sacrament of the Altar, should be said to be nothing but bread and wine; in the which there should be no invocation of saints, no praying for the dead, no abstinence from meats on prescript days; where only faith should be taught to justify, good works to be nothing available or meritorious to the doers; and, finally, in all points qualified according to the direction of your communion book—let us I say imagine, that, always presupposed that such a church as I have described is the true Church of Christ, where

* Taken by themselves these words might seem a mere bit of insult thrown out at a schismatical bishop; but taken in connection with sayings of Harding and Stapleton there is significance in the taunt that Jewell has been made bishop only by "commendation." "Some person's commendation" seems to mean "royal appointment and nothing else."

we should in those days have sought after it, where we should after long seeking to join ourselves thereto, to harbour ourselves therein, to rest our backs thereat (being all forwearied with wandering from opinions to errors, from errors to heresies), have at the length found it. Or let us discourse with ourselves, when after all this long search it appeared in no place, what we had been likely to have said the one to the other. Truly, what we would have said, I know not; but what we both should, I know right well. We should first have entered into a marvellous dislike with our own wits, who being in number but two, in learning and wisdom not the most excellent in a country, on the one side, against the whole wisdom of the world on the other, had ever fallen into any such foolish fantasy, or furious frenzy, as to condemn the doings of all the rest, to bring in place our doltish dreams, to think ourselves only to see and all other men to be blind Besides this we should have judged ourselves men altogether faithless, that giving no more credit to Christ's promise we should think the Church to have been by them at any time forsaken, and the whole world involved and wrapped in an universal darkness.

If we should have thought and said this then, M. Jewell, let us now, I beseech you, as you tender the common quiet of the Church, as you regard the health of your own soul, do the like. Your own selves confess within the term of years by me mentioned, of the beginning and continuance of your religion; your apology alleging forty years for all the universal world, Mr. Haddon standing more stoutly than wisely upon the quiet possession of thirty years, six excepted, in the which the course thereof was interrupted, within our realm of England. So that you cannot say that I have here imagined a case impossible, but by your own selves confessed, and by many a man alive, if you would deny it, to be easily proved. . . . *

This day your communion-table placed in the middle of the choir, the next day removed into the body of the church, at

* "A Proufe of Certyne Articles in Religion Denied by M. Juell." By Thomas Dorman, B.D. Antwerp, 1564 (p. 114.) This was an answer to some parts of the Apology, as well as to the Challenge by Jewell. It does not treat of Anglican Orders specially, but it shows how Jewell and the rest repudiated priesthood, and professed to have brought in a new religion. The other passages show what Catholics thought of that new religion.

the third time placed in the chancel again, after the manner of an altar, but yet removeable an [*if*] there is any communion. Then your ministers face, one while to be turned towards the south, another while towards the north; that the weathercock on the top of the steeple hath been noted not to have turned so often in the space of one quarter of a year, as your minister hath been caused, beneath in the bottom of the church, in less than one month. As though you could not sufficiently declare how restless an evil heresy is, except you must make your communion-table to roam about the church, the minister first after it, and then round about it, to express the same. . . . If such a communion as you have now devised had ever been before, you should have found precedents and forms that should have directed you so certainly, that you never would have fallen into this inconvenience of making and marring, building and pulling down. But you had no such form, and therefore, I marvel not if it hath happened unto you as it hath . . . *

The altars, the building up whereof in our country of England Chrysostom used as a demonstration to prove that we had received the strength of God's word, they overthrow as the Donatists did, and as Optatus said, they follow therein the Jews. For as they laid hands on Christ, being upon the Cross, so do these upon him on the altar. . . .

[After enumerating the outrages committed by the Arians] Which one is there of all these that you and your companions have omitted to do, M. Jewel? Can you say that you have not abused the sacrament by treading it under your feet? That you have not overthrown churches and turned them to worse uses than to stables? That you have not made breeches, shirts, yea, coats for players and dizzards, of the holy vestments and altar cloths? That you have not burned the church books and other ornaments, and most shamefully spoiled the temple of God? Have you not, which I tremble as often as I remember, turned the mysteries of our holy faith, the sacraments of the Church, the pledges of our Redemption, into comedies and plays? I would to God you never had.†

* "A Proufe of Certyne Articles in Religion Denied by M. Juell," p. 120.

† *Ibid.* p. 130.

THOMAS HESKINS (1565).

[In 1566, Thomas Heskyne, Chancellor of Sarum, and afterwards a Dominican, printed at Antwerp a book on the Blessed Sacrament, called "The Parliament of Christ," in answer to Jewell's sermon. The permission to print is dated July 1565. The members of his Parliament are the Fathers of the Church, in opposition to Elizabeth's Parliament.]

The ministers of the new church, not being the Catholic succession, as they have no such power, authority nor commandment from Christ, to consecrate his Body and Blood : and as these monstrous heads [the new bishops] neither can give them such, neither mindeth that they should do any such thing (but rather, as they find it bread and wine, so to let it remain and so to receive it), they do not, so rehearsing Christ's words, consecrate His blessed Body, no more than they do that read those words upon the book in their common studies. For, if the history of Christ's supper, rehearsed by a minister not endued with lawful authority descending to him by Catholic Order, did consecrate, then should consecration have been done in many a querulous and contentious dinner and supper, as well in taverns as elsewhere, where the like words have been spoken and rehearsed of men of as good authority for that purpose as the ministers.

Be not deceived, therefore, gentle reader, to think that of such men's hands you receive the Body of Christ. It is too much that you receive their schismatical bread : it were lamentable therewith also to commit idolatry. . . . *

Understand that in this new-founded Church be two sorts of ministers that do minister this communion. One sort is of priests which, lawfully consecrated in the Catholic Church, have fallen to heresy ; who, although they have authority by their holy orders to consecrate the Body and Blood of Christ, yet now, having neither right intention, nor faith of the Catholic Church, they consecrate not. The other sort is of ministers made after the schismatical manner. These men, though they would unwisely have intention to consecrate, yet lacking the lawful authority, they neither do nor can consecrate, but (as it may be justly thought) having neither authority nor

* "Parliament of Christ," Book III. ch. 34, p. 320.

due faith and intention, they neither receive nor distribute to the people any other thing than bread and wine.*

NICHOLAS HARPSFIELD (1566).

[In 1562 came out a book without name of author, but written by Jewell, called "An Apology for the Church of England." Many answers appeared; amongst them one by Nicholas Harpsfield, deposed Archdeacon of Canterbury. He was then in prison; but he sent his MS. to Alan Cope, who brought it out at Antwerp in his own name to save Harpsfield from persecution. It is called "Dialogi Sex," and is written in Latin.]

Let them consider whether the saying of St. Cyprian is not specially applicable to these "Gospellers." "Hence come (writes the saint) these men who without Divine appointment set themselves over rash congregations, who make themselves prelates without any law of ordination, who take the name of Bishop, though no one gives them the authority of bishops (nemine Episcopatum dante)." So wrote St. Cyprian.†

For sooth among these "Evangelicals" Christian priesthood seems to be abrogated, and a heathen priesthood substituted for it, like that of Pharaoh (Gen. xlvii.) and of Jeroboam (3 Kings, xii. 31) who "made priests of the dregs of the people, who belonged not to the sons of Levi." Thus they wickedly mock the people, arrogating insolently and perniciously to themselves the authority of presbyters and of bishops, the power of forgiving sins, and of consecrating the Body and Blood of Christ, though they have no power whatever. But why do I speak of the Body of Christ, since these Apologists, with the rest of the Zwinglians, have abolished it from the Church? Nay, there is no place left for it even in the Churches of the Lutherans, however much they fight with the Zwinglians about the Real Presence. Indeed they have no church at all, since, as St. Jerome says, "he cannot consecrate the Eucharist who is not a priest, and without a priest there cannot be a Church." I called their priesthood heathen, because it is altogether derived from the civil magistrate and his authority, as was formerly the case with the heathen, for Aristotle reckons the

* "Parliament of Christ," Book III. ch. 36, p. 529.

† De Unitate Ecclesiæ. Episcopatus would be better translated Bishopdom, an old word signifying the state and character of a bishop, not his dignity or jurisdiction.

priesthood as one of the parts of civil society (*politicae potestatis*).*

OSORIO (*circa* 1564).

[Jerome Osorius, Bishop of Sylva in Portugal, addressed a Latin letter to Queen Elizabeth in 1563. Walter Haddon was deputed to answer it, and wrote a defence of the Church of England. To this Osorius replied, and his treatise was translated by John Fenn, and published at Louvain in 1568.]

But I pray you, tell me with what ceremony, with what solemnity, with what religion was it (the appointment of bishops) done. Who laid hands on them? Who consecrated them? I would know what holiness, what purity you used in the doing of it. For it is like, that such fine and dainty fellows as you are were offended with our ceremonies, the which peradventure might seem unto you very stale and old; and therefore you devised other much trimmer than ours, which you have brought, not near, but (as you term it) "exceeding near to the very pattern of the gospel." †

WILLIAM ALLEN (1567–1582).

[William Allen (afterwards Cardinal) in a book published by him in Louvain in April 1567, called "A Treatise made in Defence of the lawfull power and authority of the priesthood to remit sins," writes as follows]

They must here be examined diligently what commonwealth that is, in which Christ doth preserve the government given to the Apostles? Where it is that the power, not only of making, but of practising all Sacraments, hath continued still? What company of Christian people that is, wherein the Apostles, doctors, preachers, ministers, through the perpetual assistance of God's spirit be continued for the building up of Christ's body, which is the number of faithful people? What Church that is which bringeth forth from time to time sons to occupy the rooms of their fathers before them? It is not, good reader, the pelting pack of Protestants. It is not, I say, and

* "Dialogi Lex," ab Alano Copo editi, p. 867.

† "Sed qua ceremonia? quo ritu? qua religione? quis manus imposuit? quis consecravit?" Lib. 2, p. 189 (ed. 3, 1576). Haddon replied: "Manus fuerunt illis legitime impositæ, et preces similiter pro illis factæ juxta Evangelii præscriptum; propriis utimur ceremoniis, sicut et vos et ceteræ nationes suas administrant."

they know it is not, their petty congregations that hath to this day continued the succession of bishops. . . . No, no, these fellows hold not by her, but they hold against her. These sit in no seat apostolic, but they by all force dishonour the seat Apostolic. These are not they “*qui pro patribus nati sunt tibi filii*,” but these are the sons, “*quos enutrivisti et genuisti, ipsi spreverunt te*.” If you ask of these men how they hold, they seek no fathers after whom they may rightly rule. They seek no large row of predecessors in whose places they may sit. They ask no counsel of God’s Church by whose calling they should govern. But they make a long discourse of statutes and temporal laws to cover their ambitious usurpation, that, in great lack of Christ’s calling, their unjust honour may be approved by man’s favour. Thereby let them hold their temporal dignities, their lands, their livelihoods, their wives also, if they can obtain so much at the commonwealth’s hands. But their spiritual functions, their ministering of sacraments, their governance of our souls, and what else so ever they usurp, without the warrant of God’s Church, the longer they exercise them, the farther they be from salvation, and the nearer to eternal woe and misery.*

Alas, into what misery hath this forsaken flock wilfully cast themselves and their adherents, which can forsake God’s house, *ubi mandavit Dominus benedictionem*—“upon which God hath bestowed His blessing”—and abide there where, by their own confession, there is no priesthood, no penance, no Host, no sacrifice, no remission (where they can let) of sins, no grace in sacraments, nor no gift of the Holy Ghost.

All other heresies lightly [*i.e.*, perhaps] by force of the fathers’ doctrine and judgment, lost either their priesthood, because they had no way out of the Church to make priests, as St. Jerome writeth of Hilary the deacon, or else the use and function of priesthood, by reason that works of God cannot be orderly nor beneficially used out of the house of God. And yet they ever claimed to themselves, not only the order, but for most part all other functions, that by Christ and His Church were annexed to that order. But ours (wherein they pass all their forefathers) in a manner willingly give over the whole

* Power of Priesthood, p. 95.

profession freely and without compulsion, deny themselves with Novatus to be priests, deny to sacrifice, deny to enjoin penance, deny to give the Holy Ghost either by imposition of hands or by Chrism or by any other solemn rite of God's Church. To be short, take nothing from these fellows that belongeth to Christianity, for they will give all over themselves.*

Because one special reproach given us pertaineth not to our persons, but to the whole order of priesthood, we may be bold to add a word or two for our defence specially concerning that term "Massing Priests," whereby the new pulpits (the very chairs of the scornful) merrily or mockingly call us and our brethren. Which name yet, given us also in public writing or authorities, is not doubtless of scornfulness (which must needs be far from the inditers of such), but as we take it, for distinction and difference betwixt us Catholic, and indeed only, priests, and the other of the new creation, whom the people for some resemblance of their actions in the ministry to the wonted celebrations of divine things, often call priests, though, the Protestants list not to be so called, as indeed the ministers cannot of right have any such calling, having no more power, right, or authority to minister any sacrament other than baptism (which in some cases women also may do) than they have to make a new moon or another sun.

The Church of God knoweth no other priests, neither hath Christ instituted any other order of priests, but of those whom contemptuously they call Mass-Priests. It is that sort, and none other, to whom Our Saviour gave power to consecrate His body and blood, and offer the same, which is to say mass.†

DR. THOMAS HARDING (1565-1568).

[Dr. Thomas Harding, Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, Prebendary of Winchester, and Treasurer of Salisbury, is principally known by his controversy with Jewell, Elizabethan Bishop of Salisbury. In Lent, 1560, Jewell, in a sermon, had challenged Catholics to prove certain points of religion by any of the Fathers of the first six centuries. Harding published his answer in Louvain in 1564. In the meantime, the "Apology for the English Church," anonymous, but written by Jewell, had appeared, and to this Harding wrote a Confutation in 1565. Jewell wrote a Reply to the Answer to his Challenge, and a Defence of the Apology; while Harding wrote a Rejoinder to the

* "Power of Priesthood," p. 134.

† "Apology for the English Colleges" (1582), fol. 88.

Reply (1567), and a Detection of sundry foul errors, &c., in the Defence (1567).
Harding died in 1572.]

Jewell had said in the Apology, "that the minister ought lawfully, duly and orderly to be preferred to that office of the Church of God, and that no man hath power to wrest himself into the holy ministry at his own pleasure and list."

Harding replies that this language is too general and confused. Whatever you mean by your "minister" and "that office," this we are assured of, that in your new church bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, or any other inferior orders, ye have none. In saying this we speak not of our apostates that be fled from us into your congregations, who as they remain in the order which they received in the Church, so being divided and cut off from the Church and excommunicate, lawfully they may not minister the sacraments. For, whereas, after the doctrine of your new Gospel, like the forerunners of anti-christ ye have abandoned the external sacrifice and priesthood of the New Testament, and have not in your sect consecrated bishops, and therefore being without priests made with lawful laying on of hands, as Scripture requireth, all holy orders being given by bishops only, how can ye say that any among you can lawfully minister, or that ye have any lawful ministry at all?

How say you, Sir Minister Bishop, ought the minister to be lawfully called? Ought he duly and orderly to be preferred to that office? In the Apology this "defender" saith yea. Then answer me directly. How prove you yourself lawfully called to the room you take upon you to occupy?

First, touching the ordinary succession of bishops, from which, as you know, Irenæus, Tertullian, Optatus and Augustine bring argument and testimony of right and true religion; do you allow the same with those fathers or no? If not, then dissent you from the learned and most uncorrupt antiquity, which is not reasonable, neither then are [you] to be heard. If yea, then how can you reckon us up your succession, by which you may refer your imposition of hands and consecration to some of the Apostles or of their scholars? Which if ye go about, how can ye but to the great hindrance of your cause bewray your weak hold? For whereas succession of doctrine must be joined with the succession of persons, how many

bishops can you reckon, whom in the Church of Salisbury you have succeeded as well in doctrine as in outward sitting in that chair? If you cannot show your bishoply pedigree, if you can prove no succession, then whereby hold you? Will you show us the letters-patents of the prince? Well may they stand you in some stead before men; before God, who shall call you to account for presuming to take the highest office in His Church, not duly called thereto, they shall serve you to no purpose.

Therefore to go from your succession, which ye cannot prove, and to come to your vocation, how say you, Sir? You bear yourself as though you were Bishop of Salisbury; but how can you prove your vocation? By what authority usurp you the administration of doctrine and sacraments? What can you allege for the right and proof of your ministry? Who hath called you? Who hath laid hands on you? By what example hath he done it? How and by whom are you consecrated? Who hath sent you? Who hath committed to you the office you take upon you? Be you a priest, or be you not? If you be not, how dare you usurp the name and office of a bishop? If you be, tell us who gave you orders? The institution of a priest was never yet but in the power of a bishop. Bishops have always, after the Apostles' time, according to the ecclesiastical canons, been consecrated by three other bishops, with the consent of the metropolitan, and confirmation of the Bishop of Rome. Thus unity hath hitherto been kept, thus schisms have been stayed, and this St. Cyprian calleth legitimam ordinationem, for lack of which he denied Novatian to be a bishop, or to have any authority or power in the Church. Hereto neither you nor your fellows, who have unlawfully invaded the administration of the sacraments, can make any just and right answer, I am sure.

[He then refers to the case of Ischyrras (mentioned in St. Athanasius, Apol. 2) who was denied to be a lawful priest.] Because he was not lawfully made priest, nor with churchly laying on of hands consecrated; for proof thereof they alleged, that neither he was of the number of those whom Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria before Athanasius, received into the Church, made priests of Meletius the heretic, neither that he was by the said Alexander created. Then how is Ischyrras a

priest, say they? or of whom hath he received his orders? Hath he received them of Colluthus? Colluthus was an Arian, who bare himself for a bishop and gave orders, being but a priest. Now Colluthus, say they in their reply, could not make him a priest, for that he died in degree of priesthood himself, and never was consecrated bishop, and that all imposition of hands or giving of orders was computed of no force, and that all they whom he had consecrated were brought down again to the order of the laity, and under the name and in order of laymen received the communion. Hereof they conclude that Ischyra could be no priest, and therefore it was denied that there was the mystery of the body and blood of Our Lord. By which example, besides other points, we are taught what to judge of your pretended communion.

[After another example from St. Epiphanius, he concludes:] Then they be neither priests nor deacons which be not consecrated lawfully, according to the order used in the Church, that is, not by bishops lawfully consecrated, but either by the people or the lay magistrate, or by monks and friars apostate, or by excommunicate priests having no bishoply power. . . . Therefore it remaineth, M. Jewell, you tell us, whether your vocation be ordinary or extraordinary. If it be ordinary, show us the letters of your orders. At least show us that you have received power to do the office you presume to exercise, by due order of laying on of hands and consecration. But order and consecration you have not. For who could give that to you of all these new ministers, howsoever else you call them, which he hath not himself? If it be extraordinary (as all that you have done hitherto is besides all good order) show us some sign or miracle. . . .

Thus it is evident, forasmuch as you can neither prove your doctrine by continual succession of priests, nor refer your imposition of hands to any Apostle or Apostolic bishop, nor show your vocation to be ordinary, for lack of lawful ordination and consecration, nor extraordinary for lack of God's testimony and approbation by sign or miracle, or example of the Old or New Testament; that you are not lawfully called to the administration of doctrine and sacraments; that you are not duly and orderly preferred to the ministry which you exercise; that you go, not being called; that you run, not being sent;

therefore we may justly say that ye have thrust yourselves into that ministry at your own pleasure and list.

For though the prince have thus promoted you, yet be ye presumers and thrusters in of yourselves. Well, lands and manors the prince may give you, priesthood and bishoprick the prince cannot give you. This being so, we do you no wrong, as ye complain, in telling you and declaring to the world, that touching the exercise of your ministry ye do nothing orderly or comely, but all things troublesomely and without order, unless ye mean such order and comeliness as thieves observe among themselves in the distribution of their robberies.

Lastly, if ye allow not every man and every woman to be a priest, why drive ye not some of your fellows to recant that have so preached? Why allow ye the books of your new evangelists that so have written? *

To all these questions, *Jewell*, in the "Defence of the Apology," only says: "Whereas it pleaseth you to call for my letters of orders, and to demand of me, as by some authority, whether I be a priest or no? what hands were laid over me? and by what order I was made? I answer you: I am a priest, made long sithence, by the same order and ordinance, and I think also by the same man, and the same hands, that you, M. Harding, were made priest by, in the late time of that most virtuous Prince, King Edward VI. Therefore you cannot well doubt my priesthood, without the doubting of your own."

Harding, in his reply, called "Detection of Sundry Foul Errors," &c., says: "You answer, neither by what example hands were laid on you, nor who sent you, but only say he made you priest who made me in King Edward's time. Verily I never had any name or title of priesthood given to me during the reign of King Edward. I only took the order of deaconship as it was then ministered. Further I went not. So that if you have no other priesthood than I had in King Edward's time, you are yet but a deacon, and that also not after the Catholic manner, but in schismatical sort. Truly after I had well considered with myself those questions, which in my Confutation I moved unto you, I took myself neither for priest,

* Confutation of a Book entitled "An Apology of the Church of England." By Thomas Harding, D.D. Antwerp, 1565 (pp. 56-60).

nor yet for lawful deacon in all respects, by those orders that were taken in King's Edward's days, being well assured that those who took upon them to give orders were altogether out of order themselves, *and ministered them not according to the rite and manner of the Catholic Church.*"

[To these points Jewell made no reply.]

Jewell had also answered *Harding's* question about his episcopate thus: "Further, as if you were my metropolitan, ye demand of me, whether I be bishop or no? I answer you: I am a bishop, and that by the free and accustomed canonical election of the whole chapter of Sarisbury, assembled solemnly together for that purpose; of which company you, M. *Harding*, were then one; and as I was informed, being present there in your own person, amongst your brethren, gave free and open consent unto the election. If you deny this, take heed your own breath blow not against you."

Harding does deny that the election was in any way free, or in any way canonical. As to his own vote, he says: "Was there ever any man more impudent than you are, M. *Jewell*? What would you do if I were dead, since you fear not to burden me, being yet alive, with that thing which I never did, nor minded to do? Of that chapter I was one at that time, I confess, as being then prebendary, and treasurer of that Church, as yet I am in right. But of the company of them that gave their voices, and consented to the election of you, M. *Jewell*, I am not To be short, I came not, nor was not made privy, when they went about the pretended election. You know it, you know it right well, M. *Jewell*, that both I and M. *Dominic*,* that reverend and virtuous priest, prebendary also there (whom in your visitation for the Queen's Highness you appointed to be a prisoner, as also myself in mine house at Sarisbury), utterly and with express words refused to give our voices and consent to your pretended election. Truly we counted it no less crime to have chosen you bishop of Sarisbury, than to have chosen Arius or any other like heretic."

Jewell had replied to *Harding's* other questions: "Our bishops are made in form and order as they have been

* Richard Dominick, Rector of Stratford and Prebendary of Sarum.

ever by free election of the chapters, by consecration of the archbishop and other three bishops and by the admission of the prince."

Harding replies: "You were made, you say, by the consecration of the archbishop and other three bishops. And how I pray you, was your archbishop himself consecrated? What three bishops in the realm were there to lay hands upon him? You have now uttered a worse case for yourselves than was by me before named. For your metropolitan, who should give authority to all your consecrations, himself had no lawful consecration. If you had been consecrated after the form and order which hath ever been used, ye might have had bishops out of France to have consecrated you, in case these had lacked in England. But as there were some ancient bishops enough in England, who either were not required or refused to consecrate you, which is an evident sign that ye sought not such a consecration as had been ever used, but such as even whereof all the former bishops were ashamed."

[*Harding's* doctrine about consecrating priests and bishops may be illustrated by what he says regarding the consecration of bread and wine in Holy Mass.]

With what honest countenance, asks *Jewell*, can Master *Harding* say that we have no consecration? We pronounce the same words of consecration that Christ pronounced. *Harding* replies: With what countenance I said before in my answer, with the same I say here again, not that ye have no consecration, but that ye have not *the* consecration. A consecration after your manner ye have, I grant, such as your communion is, schismatical communion, schismatical consecration. It is not every pronouncing of the same words that maketh the consecration. A girl, a boy, a woman, any lay person, a minister of your congregation that is no priest, as ye have no authority to make any priest by lawful imposition of hands, for that ye are no bishops; again, you or whosoever besides hath not the general intent to do that the church doth in the consecration of the blessed Sacrament, but utterly contrary intent; all these, pronounce they the words of consecration never so much, do not, ne cannot consecrate. As for you, when ye pronounce the words, ye do but as one that telleth a tale, or readeth a lesson, not directing them to the

bread and wine, in the time of pronouncing. Certain other things be requisite besides to due consecration, which they of your sect observe not. You say: "We do the same that Christ bade us do." Would God ye did. Then would ye not do as ye do, which because ye do not nor will not do, the more grievous shall be your condemnation. Christ commanded His institution to be kept, and that to be done which He Himself did. He, at the supper, ordained priests to be ministers of this high mystery, as Himself was a priest after the order of Melchisedech and Prince of all priests. Ye, for the more part, are no priests, nor none would be, for you deny the outward priesthood and sacrifice of the New Testament. Christ at His supper offered Himself, ye offer Him not, but think no man able nor of authority so to do. Christ took bread and blessed it, ye take not the bread, but let it lie on the table. Christ directed His intention to the bread, which He showed by taking it in His hands. Ye, as ye take it not into your hands, so ye turn your whole mind and intention from that which Christ did, and which the Church doth. . . .

Four things be necessarily required to the due consecration, the matter, form, minister, and intent. . . . The minister ought to be a priest and none other, consecrated and ordered according to the rite and order of the Catholic Church. Lastly, the intent to do that thing which the Church doth is also necessary. For if a man do it in mockery, or by way of dissimulation, or with a contrary purpose, or without mind and intent to do that Christ ordained to be done and the Church doth, the Sacrament is not consecrated at all. This intent and mind, you, Master Jewell, and your fellows do lack, and at the communion that ye celebrate in your congregations, deny utterly to consecrate or receive the very Body and Blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine; but make your petition, that receiving the creatures of bread and wine ye may be partakers of Christ's Body and Blood, therein declaring yourselves to be the professors of the sacramentary heresy. For even so be the words of your invocation in your communion book. In which invocation ye pretend and say it to be according to the institution of the Son of God, whereas, indeed, any such institution of the Son of God was never heard of, and through all the Scriptures can never be found, nor is it by any ancient and

allowed doctor of the Church mentioned, that by receiving the creatures of bread and wine we should be made partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ.

Now, Master Jewell, until you prove unto us that ye the sacramentaries, who bear the sway in England touching matters of religion, admit and use these four things, necessarily required to the due consecration of the Blessed Sacrament, I will say still as before, that ye have not the consecration.*

BLESSED EDMUND CAMPION (1572).

[In a letter to his old friend Richard Cheney, Bishop of Gloucester.]

Listen, I beseech you, listen to a few words. You are sixty years old, more or less, of uncertain health, of weakened body, the hatred of heretics, the pity of Catholics. . . .

Against your conscience you falsely usurp the name of a bishop, by your silence you advance a pestilential sect which you love not, stricken with anathema, cut off from the body into which alone the graces of Christ flow, you are deprived of benefit of all prayers, sacrifices and sacraments? What do you think yourself to be? Wherein lies your hope? . . . You are not stupid enough to follow the heresy of the sacramentarians, and yet you stick in the mire of your imagination, and wish to sit as a friendly arbitrator on the petty disputes of your brethren. . . . Then those hands which have conferred spurious orders on so many wretched youths shall, for very pain, scratch and tear your sulphurous body. . . . Your ship is wrecked, your merchandise lost; nevertheless, seize the plank of penance, and come even naked to the port of the Church. . . . If you but made trial of our banishment, if you but cleared your conscience, and came to behold and consider the living examples of piety which are shown here by bishops, priests, friars, masters of colleges, rulers of provinces, lay people of every age, rank and sex, I believe that you would give up six hundred Englands for the

* Harding's "Rejoinder to Jewell's Reply" (1566), pp. 80-82; *see also* p. 194 *ibid.*

opportunity of redeeming the residue of your time by tears and sorrow.*

DR. THOMAS STAPLETON (1565–1596).

[Dr. Stapleton, probably the most learned of all the controversialists, refers frequently to Anglican orders, both in his English and Latin Works. I have given the principal passages.]

Now, the pretended bishops of Protestants, whereas the whole number of our learned and reverend pastors (Our Lord be praised!) for confession of the truth were displaced of their rooms, none being left in the realm having authority to consecrate bishops or to make priests (that being the office of only bishops), by what authority do they govern the fold of Christ's flock? Who laid hands over them as St. Paul expressly did unto Timothy and Titus, when he made them bishops? Whither went they to be consecrated? Into France, Spain, or Germany, seeing that at home there was no number of such as might and would serve their turn? No, no! As their religion is contrary, their end is diverse, their beginning hath been utterly different from the true Christian faith planted, so are their proceedings different and repugnant. They have not come in by the door, they have stolen in like thieves without all spiritual authority or government. . . . By the verdict of Holy Scripture and practice of the Primitive Church these men are no Bishops. I speak nothing of the laws of the realm. It hath been of late † sufficiently proved they are no bishops, if they should be tried thereby.‡

You and your fellows have not the consent of the Pope, or of any Christian Bishop at all through Christendom, neither are

* Letter written from Douay in 1572, given in full by Mr. Simpson in his "Biography of Campion." Notes, p. 363. That by "spurious" orders Campion meant invalid, is clear from his having been himself an Anglican deacon, and having been reordained unconditionally.

† He alludes to the withdrawal of the suit against Bonner for refusing the Oath of Supremacy, when he was ready to plead that Horne of Winchester had no authority to require it of him, not being a true bishop. Strype has given the rough draft made by Bonner of the plea he would have urged. It is unnecessary to transcribe it, since it is legal not theological. He had to prove that Horne was no legal bishop, since he had not complied with the statutes of the realm. It has been argued that Bonner makes no reference to the Nag's Head story. True, but neither does he mention the Lambeth consecration. It cannot be shown that he knew of it.

‡ "Fortress of the Faith" (1565), p. 141.

liked or allowed by any of them ; but have taken upon you that, without any imposition of hands, without all ecclesiastical authority, without all order of canons and right. . . . I ask not, Who gave you bishopricks ? but—Who made you bishops? *

But, let them be tried by Scripture ; are they better than St. Paul, or is their vocation more singular than his was ? Who, though he were called principally neque ab homine neque per hominem—"neither of man neither by man"—but of Christ Himself from Heaven, yet he was after sent forth with laying on of hands. . . . Now Protestants refuse this sacrament, deny such grace to be given, and do occupy the rooms of bishops without laying on of hands of the priesthood. We may therefore say of them, as St. Cyprian said of Novatian, "Novatian [said he] cannot be in the Church, which, continuing the tradition of the Apostles, succeeding to no man, was ordained of himself" (*Ep. ad Magnum*). For what other are these pretended bishops ? To whom did they succeed in that religion which they teach ? Of whom were they consecrated ? . . . Your pretended bishops have no such ordination, no such laying on of hands of other bishops, no authority to make true priests or ministers, therefore neither ye are true ministers, neither they any bishops at all.

In the first year of our gracious Queen the Act of Parliament for making and consecrating of bishops, made the 28th [25th] of King Henry, was revived. And yet the bishops were ordered, not according to the Act, but according to an Act made in King Edward's days, and repealed by Queen Mary, and not revived the same first year. And if they will say that that defect is now supplied, let them yet remember that they are but Parliament and no Church-bishops, as being ordered in such manner and fashion, as no Catholic Church ever used.†

If I should further ask Master Horn how he can go for a bishop, and write himself as he doth Bishop of Winchester, being called to that function only by the letters patent of the prince, without due consecration or imposition of hands by any bishop or bishops living, which imposition of hands St. Paul evidently practised upon Timothy, and the Universal Church

* "Return of Untruths to Jewell" (1556).

† Counterblast to M. Horn's vain Blast against M. Feckenham (Louvain, 1567) (Preface.)

hath always used as the only and proper means to order a Bishop of the Church, I am well assured neither he nor all his fellows, being all unordered prelates, shall be able to make any sufficient or reasonable answer (answering as Christian, Catholic men), whereby it may appear that they go for right bishops of Christ's Church, but that they must remain as they were before, or mere laymen, or simple priests.*

Is it not notorious that you and your colleagues were not ordained according to the prescript, I will not say of the Church, but of the very statutes? How then can ye challenge to yourself the name of the Lord Bishop of Winchester? †

Your investiture of the prince [was] without any consecration at all of your metropolitan, himself, poor man, being no bishop neither. . . . It is not the Prince's only pleasure that maketh a bishop, but there must be both free election, and also there must follow a due consecration, which in you and all your fellows do lack; and therefore are indeed no true bishops neither by the law of the Church, neither yet by the laws of the realm, for want of due consecration expressly required by an Act of Parliament, renewed in this Queen's day in suffragan bishops much more in you.‡

Afterwards, when the Anglo-Saxons took possession of the island, and the native Britons were driven into those narrow bounds that the Welsh still hold under the English sceptre, after they (the Anglo-Saxons) had remained pagan for 150 years, by the zeal of Gregory the Great our nation was first converted to the faith of Christ by St. Augustine and his monks. After that conversion, the succession of the pastoral office, which, during 150 years, throughout the greater part of Britain, had been entirely broken off and extinguished, was renewed. It was not, however, as if by a new start or new beginning, Augustine, without being sent by any Church, or ordained by any predecessor, exercised then the pastoral office, in the same way as your ministers, neither sent nor ordained by any one, have usurped the ecclesiastical thrones. No; but sent out by the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, and ordained by the bishops of Gaul by the laying on of the hands

* "Counterblast," fol. 458.

† *Ibid.* fol. 9^b.

‡ *Ibid.* fol. 301^a.

of the priesthood, he succeeded in the pastoral office to the Apostle Peter, because he traced his origin back to the Apostle Peter, both through Gregory, by whom he was sent, and by the bishops of Gaul, by whom he was consecrated, since they kept the communion of Gregory.*

When all the Catholic bishops had been driven out, and very many pastors and doctors, who all held their churches in England under the one head, the vicar of Christ, and in the communion of the whole Christian world and the faith of the ancient Church, others were intruded, without any laying on of hands, without any legitimate consecration or succession, but by the mere will of the Queen.† And these men carried themselves as if they were bishops and pastors, in external government like the old bishops and pastors, but as regards the whole doctrine of the faith now in controversy, pure Calvinists. These new men detest the ancient Church of England as papistical, and in their turn they are execrated by the Puritans, with the same liberty and by the same principles by which they detest their ancestors.‡

The Anglo-Calvinists, though they got possession of their Episcopal thrones at first by royal authority only, now most ridiculously ordain all their ministers by imposition of hands, while the Puritans bark against them, and scoff at the whole ceremony, crying out loudly for assemblies of elders to make the ordinations.§

DR. RICHARD BRISTOW (*Circ.* 1577).

[In 1574 Dr. Bristow, at the desire of Cardinal Allen, developed some rules that the latter had drawn up. He called his book "Motives." In 1576 he brought out a second edition, called "Demands." Then in 1580 a "Reply to Fulke." (The Preface is dated 1578.) It was translated into Latin.]

As for the sacraments of baptism and matrimony, we do not iterate them after you, though we supply the ceremonies,

* *Controversiæ* (Latin) Lit. xiii. cap. 6, p. 469 (opera), anno 1578.

† *Sine ulla manuum impositione, sine ulla legitima aut ordinatione aut successione, ex sola principis voluntate.* So in his *Promptuarium pro festis nemini succedentes, sed a seipsis incipientes, a nemine manus impositionem accipiebant.* (In festo S. Marci.)

‡ "Triplificatio *adversus* G. Whitakeri duplicationem." (Antwerp. 1596.) Cap. 19, p. 240.

§ "Relectio Scholastica." *Controv.* 2a. qu. 4, art. iv. p. 643, anno 1596.

because a bishop or a priest is not the necessary or sole minister of them, as he is of the sacrament of order, and of Our Lord's Body. But we make your ministers to abjure, and yet after that they be but laymen still.*

The apostles, bishops, and priests were made by other bishops and priests, as also with us it continueth to this day; but yours be only of laymen's making, as of kings and other civil magistrates. Your friends confess our orders to be good enough, in that having been ordered by us, you seek not to be re-ordered, as Cranmer, Parker, Grindal, Sandes, Horn, &c. whereas we (as you know) account your orders for no orders.†

These laymen are the root, the spring, and the givers, both of your orders and also of your commission, and of your spiritual jurisdiction. Who ever heard the like in the Church of Christ? You have no answer unto it. You are, as the ancient writers do term such, children without any fathers. You are like the poet's men that Deucalion made of stones. You do not descend of Adam.‡

Consider what that Church is, whose minsters are but very laymen, unsent, uncalled, unconsecrated . . . holding therefore amongst us, when they repent and come again, none other place but the place of laymen. In no case admitted, no, nor looking to ministers in any office, unless they take orders, which they had not.§

Forsooth, as regards the title Head or Governor, I do not maintain that they differ or do not differ. But certain the present Supreme Governess not only makes and remakes doctrines, dispenses oaths, and does many other things which belong to ecclesiastical jurisdiction (for all these things and excommunications itself are implied in both these titles), but she exercises also what belongs to Order; as for example, creating bishops who are the ordainers of presbyters and ministers, and that too by her mere word or letters, as if she had not only ministerial power, as bishops have and the Pope, but even the power of excellence, which belongs exclusively to Christ. ("Episcopos . . . creans, idque solo verbo seu

* "Reply to Fulke," p. 319.

† *Ibid.* 319.

‡ *Ibid.* 365.

§ "Motives" (Mot. 21), p. 166.

literis suis, tanquam habens non tantum potestatem ministerialem, quam episcopi et papa, sed et potestatem excellentiæ, quæ ipsius Christi propria est.") *

JOHN DURY, S.J. (1582).

You are only laymen and wish to be esteemed as such by all [*i.e.*, not as priests]. You have nothing sacred or divine, you do nothing in your synagogues but what every layman can do in his own house ; yet you call yourselves evangelical ministers, of a kind indeed which the Catholic Church of Christ has not hitherto known.†

EDWARD RISHTON (1585).

[Rishton, who had suffered cruel imprisonment for the faith in the Tower of London, after his expulsion to the continent, published "*Sander's History of the Anglican Schism*," adding to it a fourth book on the times of Elizabeth. This is often quoted as if it were the work of Sander.]

Elizabeth gave away the ecclesiastical dignities and offices to Lutherans and Calvinists, but more especially to the latter. . . . The queen by her letters-patent granted these dignities, but those who accepted them must be ordained by certain persons, and in a certain way according to the laws of the realm.

Henry VIII. made a law, that one chosen to be a bishop should provide himself only with the royal licence, and thereupon, ordained by three bishops with the consent of the metropolitan, and not in any other way, should be recognised as a true bishop. In the consecrations under that Act, the King retained the old ceremonial with the solemn anointing, according to the tradition of the Church ; but Edward VI., going on from bad to worse, suppressed it, and put in its place certain prayers which were Calvinistic, preserving, however, in force the former enactments touching the number of bishops present at the laying on of hands on the bishop elect. This new legislation was set aside by Mary, and renewed by Elizabeth ; hence it became necessary for these prelates of the

* "*Aureæ Veritates*," vol. ii. ; Motiv. 30, p. 62.

† "*Confutatio Resp. G. Whitaker*," p. 368*b*.

queen to be ordained in this way, namely, that with the consent of the metropolitan, two or three bishops should be present and lay hands upon them.

But now, when these superintendents were to be created, the affair became ridiculous; they could find no Catholic bishops to lay hands upon them, and in their sect there were neither three nor two bishops, nor was there any metropolitan whatsoever, having previously received episcopal consecration, to give his consent or to lay hands upon them.

They did not betake themselves either to their neighbours, the Lutheran or Calvinistic Churches, for the purpose of obtaining the services of a bishop, for perhaps there were none among them. They importuned an Irish archbishop, then a prisoner in London,* to succour them in the straits they were in. They promised to set him at liberty, and to reward him for his services, if he would preside at their ordination. But the good man could not be persuaded to lay hallowed hands upon heretics or to be a partaker in the sins of others.

Being thus utterly destitute of all lawful orders—"omni legitima ordinatione destituti"—and generally spoken of as men who were not bishops, for by the laws of England they could not be, they were compelled to have recourse to the civil power to obtain in the coming Parliament the confirmation of their rank from a lay authority, which should also pardon them, if anything had been done or left undone, contrary to law, in their previous admission to their offices, and this was done after they had been for some years acting as bishops without any episcopal consecration. Hence their name of Parliamentary Bishops.†

HENRY CONSTABLE (*circa* 1600).

Parker was ordained by two heretical priests who were not bishops. I say two at most, on the supposition that Barlow assisted Scory in the action, for of this I am not assured. For the old Bishop of Llandaff, who had been brought to the place appointed for the consecration of Parker and the rest,

* Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, was prisoner in London, but not until the 5th year of Elizabeth.

† "Doctissimi viri Nicolai Sanderi, de Origine oc Progressu Schismatis Anglicani liber." Lib. iv. cap. 5 (*tr.* of M. Lewis, pp. 272-276).

pretended that he could not see, to avoid the commission of such a crime. So they had recourse to Scory, of whom they had not before thought. This is declared not only by Catholics most trustworthy, who were eye-witnesses, but John Stow also was a witness, having inquired diligently into all the circumstances of that action, although he dared not set them down in his Chronicle.*

WILLIAM RAINOLDS (1597).

[Rainolds's book, called "*Calvino-Turcismus*," contains numberless proofs of his disclaim of Anglicanism, which he always classes with Continental Calvinism, but it is of a nature not to admit easily of quotation. It is a dialogue between a learned Mohammedan and an Anglican defender of Protestantism. The Mohammedan has everywhere the better of the argument, proving that his own sect is preferable to those of Luther and Calvin, of which he considers the religion of England as one of the worst and most inconsistent forms. The book is very learned, but very diffuse.]

DR. MATTHEW KELLISON (1605).

They will say peradventure that their first bishops, priests and preachers were ordained by ours before they departed from us, and that they, ordaining others, still continued the succession. But this evasion is not sufficient.

For, first of all, either our pastors were lawful or unlawful. If lawful, then are theirs unlawful, who preached against the commandment of ours; yea, then are they usurpers, who thrust out their lawful pastors and settled themselves in their rooms.

If unlawful, then do they absurdly challenge succession from them, because none can succeed lawfully to unlawful predecessors, if they have no other title but from them.

Secondly, although some of their apostates were made priests and pastors by our bishops, yet all were not such. Luther and Calvin, the first founders, and many others were no bishops, and so could not ordain priests and pastors. And they which were true bishops amongst them used not the matter and form of ordination, but only by a letter of the Prince, Superintendent or Magistrate, constituted their inferior ministers, with as little solemnity as they make their aldermen, yea, constables and criers of the market.

* Quoted (in Latin) by Champney, "*De Vocatione*," p. 501, from MS.

And if they had truly ordained their ministers, as their apostate bishops might have done, if they had used the form and matter of Order—because power of consecrating and ordering, which divines call *potestas ordinis* is never abolished—yet, besides order, jurisdiction and mission from a lawful pastor is also required, as St. Paul saith: “*Quomodo prædicabunt nisi mittantur?*” And, seeing that our pastors were so far from sending them, that they forbade all their pulpits and preaching, from them they could not have their mission; and so they cannot prove their ordinary mission.*

I intend not to persuade Sutcliffe to leave his wife, because he is neither priest nor clerk, having neither vocation nor ordination; rather I counsel him to leave his deanery, because the benefice is given for the office, of which he, as he is, is not capable.†

DR. SMITH (1609).

[In a petition presented to King James I. at his accession, the Catholics spoke of the inconsistency of the Protestant religion, “a religion wherein refuse and revolted priests are deemed lawful and sufficiently ordered to preach the word of God, to minister sacraments, and to exercise the spiritual jurisdiction in the Protestant and Puritan congregation.” In 1609 appeared anonymously a Catholic book called “*The Prudential Balance of Religion*,” in which this anomaly is worked out in detail. It was written by Dr. Smith.]

That Luther’s Catholic priesthood could be no sufficient ministry of the Protestant word and sacraments is manifest many ways. First, by reason. For priesthood chiefly consisteth in authority to offer sacrifices for the quick and the dead, as is evident by these words, wherewith men are made priests: “Take power to offer sacrifice to God, and to say mass for the quick and the dead.” And Calvin saith, Catholics order none but to sacrifice. D. Sutcliffe, in his “*Challenge*” (p. 34) and in his Answer to the “*Cath. Supplicat.*” (sec. 19), writeth that our priesthood “is appointed only to offer sacrifice for the quick and the dead.” The like saith the “*Declar. of Discipline*” (p. 20), and it is manifest.

But the Protestant ministry detesteth all authority of saying

* “*A Survey of the New Religion*” (1605), Book i. ch. i. He repeats the same thing in substance in Book iv. ch. i. Also in his reply to Sutcliffe’s answer to the Survey (1608), pp. 21, 31.

† “*Reply to Sutcliffe*,” p. 95.

mass, of offering sacrifice, and praying for the dead. "Order to sacrifice," saith the said Declaration, "is to abolish the sacrifice of Christ. Hands are laid upon priests to an end most contrary to the Gospel." How then can priesthood become Protestantish ministry, unless one contrary becometh the other? Or as the said Declaration saith well: "How can one and the same ordering serve to give one man, at the same time, offices so diverse and contrary one to the other?"

Secondly, I prove it by the judgment of Protestants. For D. Reynolds, in his Epistle before his Conference, calleth our priesthood *impious*. D. Whitaker (Contr. Dur. p. 28) biddeth us keep our orders to ourselves; and (p. 653) "we judge," saith he, "no otherwise of your priests than of Christ's adversaries and enemies of His priesthood"; and (p. 662) "you have neither lawful bishops, nor priests, nor deacons." Powell, in his "Considerations upon Catholics," reasons—"The popish ordination is nothing else but a mere profanation." D. Fulke, in answer to a "Counterfeit Catholic" (p. 50) "you are highly deceived if you think we esteem your offices of bishops, priests, or deacons any better than laymen, and you presume too much to think that we receive your ordering to be lawful." Penrie against Some (p. 8), "Of this I am assured that popish priests are no ministers." The foresaid Declarer (p. 20) saith: "Priests' oil and power of sacrificing is no sufficient warrant for them to be ministers. It is a profane oil, and can give no men authority to dispose of the mysteries of God," which he proveth there at long, and called it "a shameless boldness of popish priests to take in hand to be ministers of the Gospel, without any new call or appointing thereto," and termeth their orders "horrible orders." D. Some also, as Penrie saith, calleth popish priesthood "sacrilege." D. Sutcliffe in "Answer to Exceptions" (p. 82) saith: "The Pope is neither true bishop nor priest, for he was ordained priest but to offer sacrifice and to say mass for the quick and dead. But this ordination doth not make a priest, nor had true priests and elders any such ordination." And (p. 87) "The Romish Church is not the true Church, having no bishops or priests, but only in name."

Thus thou seest, by the judgments of learned Protestants, that Luther's priesthood was so far from right orders and lawful ministry, as it was impious, opposite to Christ's priesthood,

a mere profanation, nothing better than laymen have, maketh no minister, horrible, sacrilegious, and what not? And he having no other orders, as is certain, what an impious enemy of Christ, profane, lay, horrible, and sacrilegious minister must he have been, if he were any.

Thirdly, I prove it, by practice of Protestants that popish priesthood is no ministry. For at Geneva, when two bishops of Nivers and Troy fled thither, and took upon them the ministry, without all more ordering, the Consistory, upon mature deliberation thereupon, concluded that they could not do so. And in England every one knoweth that it is made treason to receive popish priesthood, and above one hundred have been executed therefor; which they would never do if they thought it to be Protestantish ministry. What a disorderly religion then must that be, which was begun by a man who was never ordered to preach it, or administer the sacraments or service thereof; but, what he did therein, did only by virtue of impious, profane, horrible, and sacrilegious and treasonable orders, with which before he had said (as himself confesseth) mass 25 years together?

And what orders hath our Protestant English clergy, whereof the greater number, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time were popish priests, never ordered to say the communion, but the mass, quite opposite thereto? And albeit some of them were ordered to say Protestant service, yet they were made of such bishops or either were popish priests themselves, as Coverdale and Scory were, or had been made of such bishops. And so all their orders were either popish or came originally from popish priests, who not being able to give other orders than they received themselves, did either give popish orders or none at all. And our English either have them or none. Wherefore, since English ministers' orders came from Parker, who was first Archbishop of Canterbury under Queen Elizabeth, and that he was made bishop (as Sutcliffe says in his "Answers to Exceptions" p. 88) of Coverdale and Scory, who received their orders of Cranmer, and he his of Pope Clement VII., I would know what orders, and what authority to give orders, the Pope gave to Cranmer? Surely no other did the Pope give or mean to give than popish; and if Cranmer received no other, he could give no other to Coverdale and Scory, nor they any

other to Parker, nor he other to ministers. Judge then, good reader, what kind of orders they have (if they have any) by their own verdict, to wit, impious, profane, horrible and sacrilegious. Judge also what is to be thought of them and their religion, who hitherto have and yet do permit popish priests, that is (as they account them) slaves and shavelings of Anti-christ, and enemies to Christ, profane and mere laymen, yea impious and sacrilegious, no way degraded or new ordered of them, but by virtue only (as they speak) of their "greasing of the Romish Anti-christ," the mortal enemy of Protestantism, by power of their profane, impious and sacrilegious orders, to be sufficient ministers of their word and sacraments. O impious and anti-christian word, which can be sufficiently ministered by virtue of impious and anti-christian orders. Can Anti-christ order Christ's lawful ministers? Shall his orders become Christ's orders? Shall Anti-christ's shaveling slaves be sufficient pastors for Christ? Shall Christ be served by no other officers than such as either mediately or immediately were made by Anti-christ? Is Christ come to beg orders at Anti-christ's hands, to secure pastors of his making? Can Anti-christ give spiritual and supernatural authority? God open the eyes of my dear countrymen, that, as they partly see that their ministers have neither right calling nor lawful orders, so they may also see that they have no true religion, which, without pastors both rightly called and lawfully ordered, cannot stand.*

The answer given by Mason to this argument is, that "popish priests are neither ministers of the Gospel nor merely laymen." In their ordination there are two parts. The words "take thou power to offer sacrifice" make them ministers of Anti-christ, not of Christ. But the words: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye shall remit," &c., if properly understood, give them a ministry of reconciliation by preaching and sacraments. "So that (he says) if we come to the parts of your priesthood, your massing and sacrificing is simply abominable: the other part, so far as it relieth upon the words of Christ, taken in their true sense and meaning, is holy, and implieth a ministerial power, which, notwithstanding, by your construction and practice is greatly depraved."†

* "The Prudential Ballance of Religion," part ii. chap. xi. p. 540-9 (Jan. 1609).

† "Consecration of Bishops," Bk. v. ch. xii.

Champney has not much difficulty in replying that, though the functions of the priesthood are various, the priesthood itself is one and indivisible, and must be given either wholly or not at all.*

REMARKS.

Let us now try to gather together and to set in order what these various writers teach.

First, then, they must all be supposed to admit that orders, like baptism, may be validly conferred in a state of schism or of heresy. This was admitted by the Protestant Mason, and is explained at length by his adversary, Dr. Champney, from whom it will be enough to quote one passage: "*Septima synodus generalis, quæ secunda Nieæna dicitur, juxta doctrinam antiquorum conciliorum et patrum definivit non solum episcopos, aliosque ecclesiasticos, qui hæresim aliquando professi et ad fidem denuo conversi fuerunt, sed eos etiam qui ab hæreticis ordinati, ad fidem similiter redeuntes, recipiendos esse non tantum ad Ecclesiæ unitatem, verum etiam ad ordinis et dignitatis suæ usum et exercitium.*"†

Harding evidently held the same doctrine, for in discussing the case of Ischyra, he speaks of those who were made priests by Meletius the heretic (*supra*, p. 16). He says also that he had counted as nothing his own diaconate, not merely because he had received it in the schism of King Edward's days, but because the bishop who ordained him used an invalid form (p. 19).

The same doctrine is explicitly taught by Dr. Kellison (p. 31), and is presupposed in the very manner of reasoning of all the rest, for they never say "you are heretics, and therefore cannot be priests;" but "you are not priests, for no real bishop has ordained you."

Secondly, Dr. Champney gives several instances of schismatical or heretical bishops being called "no bishops" by saints and popes. He explains their meaning to be, not to deny the validity of the orders of heretics, but their jurisdiction or lawful use. "*Qui enim usum, ad quem res aliqua destinatur,*

* "Treatise on Vocation," p. 139. In Latin ed. p. 352.

† "De Vocatione ministrorum Tractatus" (1618), ch. xi. p. 375.

non habet, rem ipsam non habere nonnunquam dicitur. Atque idcirco difficultas, quam Masonus sibi finxit in reconcilianda doctrina Innocentii et Nicolai, quâ docent ordinatos ab hæreticis nihil recipere, quia illi nihil habent quod dent, cum aliorum patrum et conciliorum reordinationem prohibentium doctrinâ, facile vincitur et profligatur.”*

We must, therefore, carefully note whether the English writers quoted above, when they say “you are no bishops” are to be understood to deny valid or only legitimate orders. It is quite certain they deny both, though not all their arguments extend to both.

Thirdly, the Catholic writers deny all legitimate succession of the Protestant bishops from the Catholic holders of their sees, or from the Apostles. This is especially developed by Harding and Stapleton. Allen also taunts them that they did not even care to hold their office by succession (see p. 13). They were content to derive it from royal authority. Hence Heskyns calls them “monstrous heads” (p. 10). Bristow calls them children without fathers, autochthones, &c. (See p. 27).

Fourthly, their priests have no power to consecrate bread and wine even if they would; they are mere laymen, and must be re-ordained if they become Catholics. See Heskyns (p. 10); Harpsfield (p. 11); Allen (p. 14); Bristow (p. 27); Dury (p. 28); Kellison (p. 31).

Fifthly, their bishops are no bishops (*passim*).

As this absence of priesthood or episcopacy might arise from several causes, we must examine to which, or to how many, it is attributed.

(a) It might arise from there having been no ordination of any kind at the origin of the Elizabethan hierarchy, either because Parker, the metropolitan, was not consecrated in any way, or because both he and the rest were first appointed only by letters of the Sovereign. Some passages in Stapleton (p. 23), and in Bristow (p. 27), hardly admit of any other interpretation.

Yet it seems from several passages that though nothing was known of any consecrations of the first batch of Anglican bishops, it was suspected that something—though nothing legitimate or effectual—might have been done.

* “De Vocatione,” ch. xi. p. 380.

Hence the reiterated questions of Harding (p. 15), of Osorius (p. 12), and of Stapleton (p. 23). The expressions: Without any laying on of hands (*sine ulla manuum impositione*) are not decisive. They would be ambiguous if they stood alone; but as they are often coupled with *sine debita consecratione*, they may be taken to mean: you have had either no consecration whatever, or, at all events, only one that was invalid. Sometimes also the same writers allude to a consecration as having taken place.

(b) In the second place orders might be invalid from want of due intention in the ordainer, even had he power. None of these writers distinctly attributes the invalidity of Anglican orders to this cause; though from what Heskins (p. 10) and Harding (p. 21) say about the non-consecration of the Eucharist, they probably held orders invalid on this score also.

(c) Orders might be invalid from want of episcopal power in the first ordainers. Now all the writers agree that such was the case; but they do not discuss the matter historically. They do not mention the names of Barlow, Coverdale, Scory, or Hodgkins. Protestants never referred to them; Catholics do not seem to have heard of them.

Harding (p. 20) asks: Who consecrated your metropolitan? But adds at once, not that he had no consecration, but no lawful consecration. Stapleton writes: "Your investiture of the prince was without any consecration at all of your metropolitan, himself, poor man, being no bishop neither" (p. 25). Yet in another place he seems to say that the bishops were ordained according to the Edwardine rite (p. 24). This, however, does not refer to the original (Parker's) consecration, but to those which followed.

(d) The stress of the argument is laid on the invalidity of the ordinal of Edward. No true bishop ordained you (pp. 16, 17), so that you are no bishops (p. 20). If there were any bishops, in ordaining they used no valid matter or form (pp. 19, 30).

Sixthly, the Protestant Bishops are, therefore, only Parliamentary bishops at best (pp. 11, 29). Originally they were not even legal and Parliamentary (pp. 23, 24). Whatever dignity, authority, or commission they have is from letters-patent of the Crown. From the Church, the Apostles and Christ, they derive nothing whatever.

Such, then, was the teaching and the tradition of the Catholic writers of the first fifty years after the accession of Elizabeth. They were not foreigners writing about matters with which they were not intimately acquainted. Several of them were in England at the time when the new bishops took possession of their sees, as Sander, Harding, Harpsfield, Bristow, Heskyns. Harding was treasurer of Salisbury; Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury. The rest lived in Louvain, Antwerp, Douay, in constant communication with England. Of course many things were done that did not come to their knowledge, or came only in a distorted form. There were no newspaper reporters or special correspondents, whose accounts might be weighed one against the other. The opening up of State Papers has made many things clear to us, which to them were only known confusedly or not at all. But they knew better than we the temper and opinions of their adversaries. What wrong were they doing the new bishops in repudiating their divine authority or powers, when Pilkington, of Durham, had published that "the privileges and superiorities which bishops have above other ministers, are rather granted by man for maintaining of better order and quietness in commonwealth, than commanded by God in His word?" *

How did the Catholics wrong the Protestants in suspecting that they had started their new hierarchy without any kind of ordination, when the same Pilkington had declared that even laying on of hands might in extreme cases be dispensed with? "The apostles," he writes, "used exhortations, with fasting, prayer, and laying on of hands. These ceremonies we be sure are good and godly, because the apostles used them oft; and these, *except some great cause to the contrary*, are to be used of all in calling of the ministers."† This had appeared in 1563. Did it not justify the Catholics in thinking that the clause I have given in italics was written to cover an actual case? Pilkington, and he had many imitators, could never speak of the Catholic clergy, but as "shorn, shaveling, shameless priests," nor of Catholic bishops, but as "bite-sheep" or "horned beasts," or the "Pope's belly-gods," and Catholic ordination, as "filthy greasing," or "stinking orders." He had nothing

* "The Burning of St. Paul's." Pilkington's Works, p. 493 (Parker Society).

† *Ibid.* p. 581.

but sneers and abuse for the glories of the ancient hierarchy, St. Wilfrid, Lanfranc, St. Anselm, St. Thomas, St. William, and St. Edmund. "In Durham, I grant, the bishop that now is [*i.e.* himself, Pilkington] and his predecessor [Tunstall] were not of one religion in divers points, nor made bishop after one fashion. This has neither *cruche* [*i.e.*, crosier] nor mitre, never swore against his prince his allegiance to the Pope; this has neither power to christen bells, nor hallow chalices and super-altars as the other had, and with gladness praises God that keeps him from such filthiness."*

This kind of language, which appeared in every pamphlet, and sounded from every pulpit, was ringing in the ears of Catholics. Would it not have been monstrous to give these new men credit for the orders they trampled under foot, or the power of offering sacrifice which was their principal detestation? Canon Estcourt regrets that the Catholic theologians "have not left a clear statement of the reasons which guided the authorities of the Church in their dealing with those who received orders according to the Anglican rite." But surely the action of the Church was simple enough. She took men at their own word. She refused them what they never dreamt of claiming—*i.e.*, priestly or episcopal orders, in her own understanding of the words. And as regards English theologians my surprise is rather that they wrote so fully as they did, and gave so many reasons for a foregone conclusion.

If there is a bitter flavour in the controversy, it is easily explained, and there is little danger of its being communicated to our present controversy, which is of a totally different character. Let it only be remembered that the men to whom we have been listening had been driven from their altars, and their altars laid down to be trampled on, or converted into stiles and even swine-troughs, and we shall easily understand that their language would be impassioned. We have to do with men who have rebuilt the altars, and wish to restore the worship. They think themselves authorised to stand before the altars, yet this is not (as we trust) in the presumption of Dathan, but rather because, though they are descendants of Dathan, they know it not, but think themselves the sons of Phinees.

T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

* "The Burning of St. Paul's," p. 586.

ART. II.—THE LOLLARDS.

IN travelling from the close of the nineteenth century to the last quarter of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth, to the reigns of Richard II. and the 4th, 5th, and 6th Henrys, a very different England starts into view. We leave behind the hurry and crush of modern life, the railways, the telegraphs, the ceaseless traffic, the palatial shops, the factories and machinery, the police, the newspapers, tea and coffee, potatoes and tobacco. In their place come towns of from 2000 to 50,000 people, with walls round them, and gates that at night shut out strangers and shut in the burghers. The country is traversed by few roads, rarely repaired, and practically impassable for the vehicles without springs, so that men and goods are conveyed on horseback. Along the roads the land is broken up into tracts roughly cultivated, reaches of pasture, dark ranges of wood, and stretches of heath and common. Here and there stand strongholds of the lords with moat and drawbridge, and thick stone walls pierced with slits for windows, and crowned with turret and battlement. In contrast, rickety hovels are dotted over the domain, their flimsy walls, branches of trees plastered with stiff clay, support a roof of thatch, and cover a contracted space without window or chimney. These are the homes of the serfs or villeins ; they owe feudal service to their lord, cannot leave the estate, labour on the lord's farm, gather in his harvest, work his land, are liable to be drafted into his troop, and can be chastised and imprisoned. When the lord has no need for them they may earn a day's wage, a penny during the harvest and a halfpenny at other times, equivalent to 15*d.* and 7*d.* of our money. Some indeed have gained their freedom, and these have a plot of land for their own use, can freely hire themselves as labourers, but still are bound to the estate and to occasional service.

In the year 1380, the opening of our story, the times pressed heavily on both villein and free labourer. The townsmen had once groaned under the same feudal burdens, but, trade had prospered and they had bought their freedom with

hard cash, either by combining and paying a lump sum when the lord was needy, or by commuting the feudal service into an annual payment. The poor peasants cast looks of envy upon these burgesses, apprentices, and town servants, who not so long before had been as downtrodden as themselves. It was the more galling, for they had not yet recovered from the effects of the great Pestilence. Thirty years before it had swept away half the peasantry, defenceless with their wretched shelter and scant food; tracts of land remained untilled, and the price of provisions rose enormously. The villein had double work for his lord, and had less and worse food to bear him up. The free labourer thought to have a high time of it in the dearth of labour, and struck for 1*s.* a day for mowing and 8*d.* for reaping (15*s.* and 10*s.* of our money). But the landowners bound him by the stringent Statute of Labourers, in which Parliament enacted that a labourer, otherwise free, should be compelled to work for the employer who required his services at the wage customary two years before the pestilence, and forbade him to leave his parish in search of better paid employment. The free labourer thus found himself worse off than before the pestilence, for the price of provisions had doubled, and he felt himself within measurable distance of the old serfdom. The frequent re-enactment of the law, with sterner measures added, sent a rankling of injustice deep into the hearts of both labourer and villein. On the top of this came the poll or capitation tax of Richard II., a new kind of assessment that gripped every adult of the population. How could the half-starved peasant provide the 4*d.* (5*s.* of our money) for himself, his wife, and two or three grown-up children? The impost and its harsh exaction turned discontent into ferment, and the peasants were ripe for rebellion if they had the means of combination. How could they combine? Communication between county and county was difficult; they had no leader, no arms, no resources, and it was a novel idea, for the peasants had never yet risen. Some agency was needed, some organising spirits to give the indignation a definite form, to suggest a definite plan, to arrange for a common course of action, and this agency was supplied by the Lollards.

Lollard was a nickname given to a follower of John Wick-

liffe, who first appears in history about the year 1360 in connection with a violent attack on the friars at the University of Oxford. By a not very creditable trick he ousted a friar from the Wardenship of one of the University Halls. This involved an appeal to Rome, and a three years' controversy, ending in a decision against him. Smarting under defeat, he turned his pen against the whole body of the clergy, Pope, bishops, rectors, all who held benefices, as well as the Mendicant orders. In unrestrained and virulent language he first inveighed against the temporalities of the Church: the clergy from the lowest to the highest should imitate the poverty of Christ, temporal lords should take their property from them. In the University Wickliffe attracted such a following as to gain its protection in the accusations against his early teaching. Besides the goodwill of his fellow professors and the favour of some powerful lords, he aimed at reaching the mass of the people. For this purpose he enlisted a number of volunteers, whom he sent out as preachers to propagate his tenets. His invectives against the clergy debarred him from the services of any respectable clergymen, and he supplemented a small number of unemployed priests with dubious characters, by substituting laymen, for he held that preaching needed no commission. He decked them out in a garb similar to his own, a russet-grey gown and bare feet, and told them to harangue the people in market places, villages, and churchyards. He called them his poor priests, and the people nicknamed them Lollards from their babbling or singing. He gave them English versions of the Scriptures to expound to their hearers; and as they were mostly of indifferent education, they wrenched and distorted the texts according to their ability or ignorance. No record exists of any rule or organisation amongst them, and they were let loose on the people to preach almost what they liked, and the songs and writers of the time hint that the intervals between the sermons were not spent in unmitigated holiness.

We are not now concerned with the career of Wickliffe except to introduce the Lollards. From the onslaught on the temporalities and the abuse of the clergy he turned to attack the doctrines of the Church. He was cited by Convocation, deserted by John of Gaunt, expelled from Oxford, retired to

Lutterworth, and died there in 1384. He never preached out of Oxford or his own church, and his influence on the people was restricted to his doctrines as promulgated by his itinerant preachers, and to his books, which before the invention of printing could have no wide circulation. What then did the Lollards teach? The doctrines of Wickliffe, but the doctrines of Wickliffe are vague and indefinite. Wilkins cites a document* containing 267 propositions culled from his writings and condemned by the University of Oxford; most of them are speculative, many contradictory, and they are mainly unintelligible to the general reader. At crucial times he shifted and changed his opinions to serve a purpose. His advocate, John Foxe, thus writes of him:

Whereby Wickliffe, being beset with troubles and vexations, as it were in the midst of waves, was forced once more to make confession of his doctrine; in which his confession, to avoid the rigour of things, he answered as is aforesaid, making his declaration and qualifying his assertions after such a sort, that he did mitigate and assuage the rigour of his enemies.†

Such an admission from such a partisan is significant, but it did not prevent Foxe from placing him amongst his martyrs.‡ The doctrines really taught by the Lollards may be gathered from their public examinations on trial and from the papers which they had a knack of affixing secretly on church doors and running away. Their chief points were:

1. That the substance of bread remains after the consecration at Mass; but whether our Lord was there they were uncertain.
2. That auricular confession was unnecessary.
3. That neither Pope, nor bishop, nor prelate, had more power or jurisdiction than a simple priest, and hence that conferring Orders or Confirmation was not reserved to bishops.
4. That the cross or images should not be honoured.
5. That pilgrimages were superstitious.
6. That any one might preach the gospel, man or woman.
7. That the payment of tithes was optional.

* Wilkins, "Concilia," vol. iii. p. 339.

† "Acts and Documents," vol. iii. p. 19.

‡ Foxe, "Calendar," January 2, vol. i.

8. That prelates, rectors, and curates should imitate the poverty of Christ.

9. That dominion or ownership of possessions depended in clerics on a state of grace, and if they fell into sin temporal lords were bound to take away their possessions.

Since no creed or formulary gave definition to these opinions they were presented to the hearers under a variety of aspects, according to the fancy of the preacher. Those that touched on the temporalities of the Church were first proclaimed and probably attained the greatest prominence throughout. The doctrine of dominion by grace was a curious jumble of feudalism and theology. If a vassal committed treason against his lord all his goods were forfeited; mortal sin was treason against God, therefore a cleric in committing mortal sin forfeited all his goods. But why restrict it to clerics? If dominion depended on a state of grace landowners and all who held possessions would be in bad case, and this soon began to be appreciated.

We can now return to the peasants who were left in a state of discontent and indignation, anxious to escape from their wretched condition, yet unable to unite in a common understanding. It is on record, and it is certain that these preachers did roam through the country, that they addressed the people in villages and market places, and took for their theme the wealth of the clergy, and it is probable that their hearers, if not the preachers, would see but little distinction between the wealth of the clergy and the wealth of their exacting lords. These preachers would provide an easy means of communication and organization, indeed no other is suggested. As a matter of fact the peasants rose simultaneously in several counties in the same week, the week after Corpus Christi 1381.

Everywhere, [says Lingard], the people had been prepared, and in a few days the flame spread from the southern shores of Kent to the right bank of the Humber. In all places the insurgents regularly pursued the same course. They pillaged the manors of the lords, demolished the houses and burnt the court rolls; cut off the heads of every justice, and lawyer, and juror who fell into their hands.*

The atrocities of the rebels and the progress of the insurrec-

* "History of England," 6th ed. vol. iii. p. 144.

tion are recited in every history. Thomas Walsingham, a contemporary writer who lived in the midst of the turmoil, thus describes a sermon preached to the mob at Blackheath :

In order that his doctrines should influence many, at Blackheath, where 200,000 of the common men were assembled, he commenced a sermon in this way :

“When Adam dalf, and Eve span,
Who was thanne a gentelmanne?”

And continuing the sermon thus begun, he strove by the words of the adage that he had taken for a theme to maintain and prove that in the beginning all were created equal by nature, that slavery was introduced by the oppression of wicked men against the will of God ; for if God had been pleased to create men slaves He would at the beginning of the world have appointed who should be slaves and who masters. They should consider that now the opportunity had been given them by God, in which, throwing off the long-borne yoke of slavery, they could if they wished enjoy the long-looked-for freedom. Wherefore he exhorted them to be men of good heart, and with the zeal of the good householder cultivating his field, and pulling up and cutting out the noxious weeds that oppressed the fruits, and they should hasten to do this at once. First by killing all the greater lords of the kingdom, then by putting to death judges, justices, and jurors of the country, and in the end they should cut off from their land any who they knew in the future could be hurtful to the community ; thus at last they would bring peace to themselves and security for the future, if, having removed the greater ones they should be equal in liberty, the same in nobility, alike in dignity, and similar in power.”*

If such were the subjects preached to the peasants during the previous two or three years, the rebellion is explained. The preacher was John Ball, a priest, whom Walsingham thus describes :

Always preaching in different places what he knew would please the mob, and abusing both ecclesiastics and secular lords, he angled for the goodwill of the common folk rather than merit before God. For he taught that the people should not give tithes to a curate, unless he who gave should be richer than the rector or curate who received. He taught that tithes and offerings should be withheld from curates, if it appeared that the subject or parishioner was leading a better life than his curate. He also taught that no one was fit for the Kingdom of God who had not been born in matrimony. He taught, too, the perverse doctrines of the faithless John Wickliffe, the opinions that he held, and his extravagant falsehoods, and more, which would be lengthy to recite. Prohibited by the bishops from preaching in the churches of the parishes where he

* “*Historia Anglicana*,” vol. ii. p. 32 (Rolls Series).

attempted it, he proceeded to preach in the market places, and in the villages, and in the fields. Nor did he want hearers amongst the common folk, whom he strove to entice to his sermons by abuse of prelates and by pleasing words. At last he was excommunicated, and when he would not desist he was cast into prison, where he foretold that he would be delivered by 20,000 people, which afterwards happened in the aforesaid disturbances of the kingdom, when the commons broke open the jails and compelled the prisoners to go off.*

After his capture he confessed that he had sent out letters to the rebels in different counties, one of which was found on a prisoner and was expressed in enigmatical language. John Stowe, after quoting the letter, says :

This letter John Ball confessed himself that he had written and sent to the commons ; more, he confessed to William, Bishop of London, to Walter Lee, Knight, and John Perfoot, notarie, that a certaine companye of his secte were confederate to go about all Englande, and to preach these things which he had taught, naming I. W. N. A. L. B., Masters of Arts. Whereupon he added that, except remedy were had, they within two years' space would destroy the whole Realme, and the confession, under a certain forme, was brought into a publike document. Some other epistles of John Ball have I seen which also I think good (as afore) here to insert.†

This clearly indicates that the rebellion of the peasantry was instigated, fostered, and fomented by the Lollards. Corroboration is obtained from references in contemporary writers and from public documents. The political poems and songs of the period contain pieces for and against the Lollards. On the one side the friars are held up to ridicule, on the other the Lollards are taunted with their heresy, blasphemy, and hypocrisy, and allusions to the rebellion, such as the following :

Monstrans Wycleffii Familiam ; Causam brigæ primariam ; Quæ totum regnum terruit.‡

The editor of the volumes of poems, Mr. Thomas Wright, who has never been suspected of a leaning to the Church, in his Preface thus expresses his opinion on the poems of the time of the rebellion :

* "Hist. Ang.," vol. ii. p. 32.

† "Flores Historiarum," p. 469.

‡ "Political Poems and Songs," vol. i. p. 235 (Rolls Series). Showing that the family of Wickliffe was the primary cause of the turmoil that terrified the whole kingdom.

In all periods of great discontent with the existing forms and conditions of society, there arises an extreme party which has for its standard the principle which in modern times has received the name of socialism, implying an absolute equality of individuals and a common right in property, and doctrines approaching closely to this, if not identical with it, were preached to the populace in the reign of Richard II. by men of ardent temper, who had been originally friars or monks, who had embraced the reforming principles of Wickliffe, and who had subsequently thrown themselves into mediæval socialism.*

The procedure of the public authorities after the rebellion was in conformity with the supposition that the preachers had incited it. The Primate wrote at once to the bishops urging them to suppress itinerant preaching without licence.† He summoned a synod, which passed a special decree against it; and finding that when a process was commenced in one diocese the preacher decamped into another, the bishops obtained an Act of Parliament which stated that whereas several persons under the mask of extraordinary sanctity, and in a particular sort of garb, went from place to place, preached without authority in churches, churchyards, fairs, and markets, inculcated false doctrine, excited dissensions between the different estates, prevailed on the people to support them by open force, and refused to obey the citation of their ordinaries; the sheriffs should be bound on the certification of the prelates, in the chancery, to arrest such offenders and their abettors, and confine them until they were willing to plead in the ecclesiastical courts.

This Act was evidently passed in haste, for it was repealed the next year, 1382, on the ground that the consent of the Commons was not obtained. The year 1382 was one of activity. At Convocation Wickliffe's doctrines were condemned, three of his disciples at Oxford, Nicholas Herford, Philip Repyngdon, and John Ashton, were cited, their teaching examined, and they were pronounced guilty of heresy. Ashton and Repyngdon eventually submitted and recanted, and Herford retired to a Carthusian monastery. These measures served to cool the ardour of the itinerant preachers; the peasantry were cowed and not disposed to listen to further agitation; Lancaster

* Preface to "Political Poems and Songs," p. lix.

† Wilkins, "Concilia," vol. iii. p. 158.

and other patrons were ashamed of their clients, and the preachers themselves had a wholesome dread of a prison. There is scarcely any notice of them until the year 1387, and during the interval they continued more or less secretly to disseminate their opinions. In 1387 an apostate Augustinian friar named Peter Patershull, backed up by a hundred Lollards, mounted the pulpit of S. Christopher's Church in London and made horrible charges against his former brethren. The friars in the convent close by, hearing what was going on, twenty of them came to reply to the charges. The Lollards set upon their spokesman, ill-treated him in the church and sallied out to burn the convent, but were prevented by the intervention of some popular favourites. The Lollards then publicly posted their charges at S. Paul's Cross under the protection of some Knights, and among them Sir John Montague, whose house seems to have been their headquarters.* So that they were again beginning to appear in public under the encouragement of persons of position, owing doubtless to the relaxing of the vigilance of the bishops.

A difficulty arose from a deficiency of priests to give a colour of authority to their preaching. They dared not approach a bishop, so they carried out their own principles of orders and began to ordain each other. Under the year 1389 Walsingham tells us :

The followers of John Wickliffe at this time seduced several to their errors, and to such an extent did they venture in audacity, that their priests, in the manner of bishops, created new priests, asserting, as we have frequently mentioned before, that every priest has given to him as much power of binding and loosing, and of administering other ecclesiastical things, as the Pope himself gives and can give ; they practised this perfidy in the diocese of Salisbury. And those who were so ordained by the heretics, thinking everything was lawful to them, were by no means afraid to celebrate Mass, to deal with divine things, and confer the sacraments.†

The bishops may have known that the influence of the Lollards was not very extensive, for the records of the cases tried do not indicate that the heresy had taken much root amongst the people. However, in some towns action was

* Wals. "Hist. Ang." vol. ii. p. 158.

† *Ibid.* p. 188.

necessary. At Leicester the Lollards had the support of Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir John Trussel, and Sir Lewis Clifford, and Knighton represents them as standing in their armour round the pulpit and brandishing their swords to terrify those who were unconvinced.* Accordingly, the Archbishop made a visitation at Leicester in 1389, and cited eight persons to appear, Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Richard Waystacke, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, William Parchmeanor, John Harvy, and Roger Goldsmith.† As they did not put in an appearance an order was issued for their arrest, on which six of them fled. Richard Dexter, to whom was joined his wife Alice, and William Smith, submitted, recanted, and did public penance. Of the other six there is no further record.

In 1391 William Swinderby, a priest, was cited in the diocese of Lincoln, and abjured his heresy; he then removed to the diocese of Hereford, began preaching again, was again cited, and pronounced a heretic.‡ Something is known of him, and he will serve as a specimen of the itinerant preacher. The Rev. C. Le Bas, a Protestant, author of a *Life of Wickliffe*, thus speaks of him :

William Swinderby is another of these preachers. He is represented by Knighton as a man of unsettled habits and inconstant temper. He first signalised himself at Leicester by a rash assault on the pride of women. His ungracious freedom of speech excited the wrath of all the females of the place to such a degree, that they were ready to stone him out of the town. He next attacked the merchants, and nearly drove them to despair by declaring that no rich man could enter the kingdom of Heaven. He then for a time became a recluse. Growing weary of total seclusion, he was taken into an Abbey, but his fondness for itineracy soon returned, and forced him once more into the corruption of the world, in company with one Smith, a blacksmith. His denunciations were now levelled against the enormities of the Church, a theme which was sure to find him an abundance of willing hearers. When Bokyingham, Bishop of Lincoln, endeavoured to restrain him, he made a pulpit of two millstones in the High Street of that city, from which he proclaimed, that in spite of the Pope's teeth he could and would preach in the highway, so long as he had the goodwill of the people. He was compelled to abjure his conclusions; and, being deeply impressed with the disgrace of his recantation, he fled to Coventry, resumed his former habits, and was recovering his popularity, when he was expelled by

* Knighton, 2666.

† Wilkins, "*Concilia*," vol. iii. p. 208, *et seq.*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 215.

the diocesan with shame and contempt. It must be acknowledged, adds the author, that the picture presented to us of a poor travelling priest is very far from honourable to that class of agitators.*

John Foxe says of him :

Of the process, answers, and condemnation of that worthy priest and true servant of Christ, William Swinderby, you have heard. What afterwards became of him I have not certain to say or affirm ; whether he in prison died, or whether he escaped their hands, or whether he was burned there is no certain relation made. This remaineth out of doubt, that during the lifetime of King Richard II. no great harm was done to him, which was to the year 1399.†

Accordingly Foxe places him on his roll of Martyrs, and his festival occurs on January 5th.

Considerable alarm was excited in the year 1394 at the proceedings of the Lollards, for the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, deputed by the clergy, went over to Richard in Ireland to beg him to return to check the insolence of the Lollards. Enmity to the Church or other cause led several knights, Richard Drury, Lewis Clifford, Thomas Latimer, and John Montague to encourage them to open demonstrations, and amongst others to affix to the gates of St. Paul's outrageous accusations against the clergy. Some serious trouble was anticipated, for Richard left his business in Ireland, hastened to London, and sternly reprimanded the knights for their support of the Lollards. He made Sir Richard Drury take an oath that he renounced these opinions, and added : "And I swear to you that if ever you violate your oath you shall suffer a disgraceful death."‡ The rest were cowed by the King's determination, and no further mention is made of the Lollards for the rest of the reign, although Pope Boniface wrote to Richard asking him to assist the prelates in suppressing them.

The accession of Henry IV. raised the hopes of the Lollards on account of his connection with John of Gaunt. Their expectations were doomed to disappointment, for Henry at once sent to Convocation a gracious message, in which he announced

* "Life of Wycliffe," p. 180.

† "Acts and Monuments," vol. iii. p. 130.

‡ Wals. "Hist. Ang." vol. ii. p. 216.

his intention to aid the bishops in exterminating heretics ; * and he declared at the opening of his first Parliament that he would support the established religion, and for this he received the thanks of the Commons. The preachers, disconcerted and irritated, posted up fresh opinions, some of which outraged public feeling—*e.g.*, that monks and nuns would be damned if they did not marry, that the Church was a synagogue of Satan, and that the Lord's Day was only a Jewish observance and need not be kept holy. These ravings aroused public indignation, and the second Parliament, in 1400, at the petition of the Commons, passed the celebrated Act: "*De heretico comburendo*." It declared that the Lollards taught new doctrines, misled the people by their falsehoods, and excited them to insurrection; committed "enormities too fearful to be mentioned"; and when cited by the bishop of one diocese found impunity by retiring into another. All Lollards were, therefore, forbidden, under pain of fine and imprisonment, to keep schools, to have or publish heretical books, or to hold assemblies. All the bishops were, moreover, compelled to detain persons who were strongly suspected until they had either cleared themselves according to Canon Law, or, being convicted, had suffered imprisonment and paid a fine into the royal treasury. If a person thus convicted refused to abjure the new doctrines, or relapsed after abjuration, then the sheriff of the county, or the chief magistrate of the nearest borough, should attend the ecclesiastical court to hear such a person declared an obstinate heretic, and at once should receive him into custody, and cause him to be burnt in a high public place as an example to others.†

No sooner was the Act passed than a candidate almost volunteered to test its efficacy. William Sautree had been rector of Lynn, in Norfolk, had been convicted of heresy, deprived of his living, had recanted, and been appointed to a curacy at St. Osyth's in London. He had the audacity, some would say lunacy, to petition Parliament for permission to dispute before them on the subject of religion. Convocation took cognisance of the application and cited him to appear, granting him six days to prepare his answer. At the examina-

* Wilkins, "*Concilia*," vol. iii. p. 239.

† *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 252.

tion he replied to the questions with much insolence and effrontery, and even denied his previous conviction and recantation. The trial was adjourned from day to day for eleven days, in order to give him the opportunity of yielding to persuasion, and of coming to a better state of mind. The delay only increased his obstinacy, the registry of his previous conviction was produced, and he was pronounced a relapsed heretic.* Henry consulted the temporal lords sitting in Parliament, who advised him to let the law take its course, and William Sautree was burned at Smithfield. The Commons, through their Speaker, returned thanks to the King, that whereas

by bad doctrine the faith of holy Church was on the point of being overturned, to the destruction of the King and kingdom, he had made and ordained a just remedy to the destruction of the said doctrines and the pursuers thereof.†

In the same Parliament the King granted a petition of the Commons, that

whenever any man or woman was taken and imprisoned for Lollardism, he might be instantly put on his answer, and have such judgment as he deserved, for example to others of such wicked sect, that they might soon cease their wicked preaching, and keep themselves to the Christian faith.‡

These extracts indicate that in the measures against the Lollards the Commons were as active as the prelates and the lords. These enactments were so far effectual that no mention of the Lollards occurs until 1407, when apparently they began to show signs of activity, and a significant petition was presented by the Commons. It stated that the preachers excited the people to take away the possessions of the Church, of which the clergy were as assuredly endowed as the temporal lords were of their inheritances; and that unless these evil purposes were speedily resisted it was probable that in process of time they would also move the people to take away the possessions and inheritances of the temporal lords, and make them common, to the open commotion of the people, and the utter subversion of the realm.§ In spite of this declaration the Com-

* Wilkins, "Concilia," vol. iii. p. 255 *et seq.*

† "Rot. Par." iii. 459, 466.

‡ *Ibid.* 473, 474.

§ *Ibid.* 583.

mons three years later were pressed by the King for a subsidy, and, evidently urged by some members favourable to the Lollards, suggested that he could obtain any money that he required from the surplus revenues of the Church. These, they said, would maintain 15 earls, 1500 knights, and 6200 esquires, and 100 hospitals for the poor besides. The young Prince Henry intervened, and when they could not tell him whence these vast sums could be realised, he rated them roundly for their presumption, and would hear no more of it. The promoters then petitioned that priests accused of heresy should be sent to the King's prisons and not to the bishop's, which was refused. Finally, they asked that the statutes against the Lollards might be relaxed, and they received for an answer that their stringency should rather be increased.*

The procedure in this Parliament may perhaps be explained by a remark of John Stowe: "About the feast of St. Faith, the King called a Parliament at Coventry, and sent process to the sheriffs that they should choose no knights nor burgesses that had any knowledge of the lawes of the Realme, by reason whereof it was called the Laymen's Parliament."†

Beyond the measures taken in Parliament during the reign of Henry IV. there is a remarkable dearth of any record, either of the doings of the Lollards, or of any action taken against them. John Bradby, a tailor, was executed in 1410, William Thorpe underwent a long examination, and Foxe does not know what became of him, and John Parvey was accused and recanted. Foxe does not mention any other name, and the chroniclers are silent. Whatever opinion may be formed of the severity of the legislation, there is no evidence that it was administered harshly or extensively, indeed, little record that it was carried out at all. Possibly the preachers cautiously kept within the law, and the bishops were reluctant to deal with any but flagrant cases. That the preachers continued the propagation of their tenets secretly and obtained the countenance of persons of position, will be gathered from the events of the next reign.

Immediately Henry V. succeeded his father his people were startled by placards on the doors of the churches of London,

* Wals. "Hist. Ang." vol. ii. p. 282.

† Flores, "Hist." p. 536.

proclaiming that if force were used to suppress the new doctrines a hundred thousand men would be ready to draw the sword in their defence.* Investigation traced the papers to Cowling Castle in Kent, the seat of Sir John Oldcastle, commonly called Lord Cobham on account of his wife. He was a man of great stature, strength, and military prowess. He is said to have been a boon companion of Prince Henry in his wild days, and the model for Shakespeare's character of Falstaffe. Later he became connected with the Lollards; his house was a rendezvous for their preachers, and the threatening placard could scarcely have been exhibited without, at least, his cognizance. At the meeting of Convocation the state of affairs was considered, and the clergy as a body petitioned the Archbishop to put Sir John Oldcastle on trial for heresy. The Archbishop before taking any steps, sought an interview with the King, since Sir John was so friendly with him. Henry asked for a suspension of proceedings until he could remonstrate with the knight. Neither his persuasions nor his friendship had any effect: Oldcastle firmly adhered to the opinions expressed in a paper containing his profession of faith, which he handed to the King. Henry forwarded it to the Archbishop, intimating that he could proceed. Oldcastle was then formally cited, but declined to receive the citation. Meanwhile, the King's officers gained entrance into Cowling Castle, arrested him, and conveyed him to the Tower. At the appointed day the Warden of the Tower produced his prisoner before the bishops. Oldcastle assumed an insolent and arrogant demeanour, and read for a profession of his faith an enlargement of the Apostles' Creed. The Archbishop suggested that although good in itself, this did not meet the particular accusations. He replied that he had stated what he believed. The Archbishop warned him that he might be declared a heretic. He stated that he had no more to say. The Archbishop explained the Catholic doctrines, delivered to him in writing a series of articles, begged him to state his opinion upon each, and adjourned the case.

At the meeting of the court on the following day he read his replies to the articles and reaffirmed his heretical opinions.

* Wals. "Hist. Ang." vol. ii. p. 291.

He then poured out his soul in a bitter invective against the clergy, amongst other things declaring that the clergy were antichrist; the Pope was the head, the prelates were the limbs, and the religious orders the tail of the beast; and turning to the people he ended with a solemn warning: "These men who judge and wish to condemn me, seduce you all and themselves, and will lead you to hell, and therefore beware of them." Further attempts at bending him were useless, and the formal sentence of heresy was pronounced against him.* To give time and opportunity for relenting, the Archbishop obtained from the King fifty days' grace before the execution of the sentence. During those fifty days Oldcastle escaped from the Tower.

Walsingham tells us that:

In letters secretly destined for his followers, both knights and men-at-arms, he exhorted them to write to their friends so as to excite them to vengeance. Therefore, during the time that elapsed from his escape until the Circumcision of the Lord or the Epiphany, messengers of the Lollards ran all over the country to persuade the rustics, and whomsoever they could, with promise of good pay, to be ready by a certain day to be announced to them, to stand bravely and take military action.†

The King [says John Stowe], keeping his Christmase at his Manor of Eltham (seven miles from London), was warned that certaine had conspired against him, either to have taken or suddenly slain him and his brethren on Twelfth day or night, whereupon the King sent word to the Mayor of London that he should arrest all suspicious persons. The Mayor, therefore, caused every Alderman in his ward to keep great watch, and about tenne of the clock at night went himself with a strong power, to the "Signe of the Axe" without Bishop's Gate, where they apprehended the man of the house, named John Burgate, carpenter, and seven others, one of them being a squire belonging to Sir John Oldcastle, and sent them to Eltham, where they confessed before the King that they were confederate with Sir John Oldcastle to fight against the King and his lords in S. Giles field above Holborne . . . for he was warned that Sir John Oldcastle and Sir Roger Acton would be in the same field the next day following with 25,000 men.‡

For greater safety, Henry quietly removed to his palace at Westminster, and secretly collected a force. On the evening before the time appointed for the rising, he ordered all the

* Wilkins, "Concilia," vol. iii. p. 353 *et seq.*

† Wals. "Hist. Ang." vol. ii. p. 297.

‡ Flores, "Hist." p. 560.

gates of London to be closed and strongly guarded, to keep the Lollards within the city from joining those without. Contrary to the advice of his lords, who thought the risk too great, as soon as it was dark he led out his small body of troops and placed them close by the Lollard camp. The rebel recruits came dropping in during the night, and many in mistake found their way to the royal army, inquiring for Lord Cobham, who had hired them, and were of course secured. When the rebels heard of this they lost heart and fled: Sir John Oldcastle escaped to Wales, Sir Roger Acton and some seventy of the rebels were taken, of whom thirty-five were executed.*

After this, says Capgrave, the King ordered litanies and processions through the whole kingdom, saying that it was pleasing and grateful to God, after such overthrow of evils, and after the cutting out the most wicked tares (lollum) from the good grain, to return thanks to the Supreme Sower.†

The next year, 1415, the Lollards, under the impression that Henry had sailed for France, quitted their hiding places, began talking bravely, scattered about threats in writing, and affixed more placards on church doors to this effect: "Now the prince of priests has gone away, now our enemy has departed, now a fitting time favours us for avenging our injuries," and they wrote to each other that many thousands were at their call.‡ Sir John Oldcastle emerged from his retreat near Malvern, and boldly sent a letter of defiance to Lord de Bergeyne, declaring that he would avenge on his head the injuries done to him and his. Lord de Bergeyne at once gathered his tenants and men-at-arms to the number of 5000, and marched straight away at night to meet him; on intimation of this Oldcastle again slipped into hiding. They captured some of his accomplices, who betrayed the place where he concealed his arms and treasure (Wals. p. 306).

When Henry really had departed for France, Walsingham tells us that Oldcastle recommenced his agitation, and made overtures to the Scots to invade England in the absence of the King (p. 325), and Capgrave mentions that at the Parliament

* Wals. "Hist. Ang." vol. ii. p. 298.

† "De Ill. Henricis," p. 113 (Rolls Series).

‡ Wals. "Hist. Ang." vol. ii. p. 306.

held under the presidency of the Duke of Bedford, the regent, provision was made against the Scots and Lollards rising against the King.* The Scots made an incursion in 1417, but finding the Dukes of Bedford and Exeter ready for them, they retired. Oldcastle narrowly escaped capture at St. Albans in 1417, when one of his chief adherents was taken with his books and letters.† A little later in the same year he was discovered in his hiding-place on the estate of Lord Powis, and Capgrave mentions, that being a powerful man he was doing much mischief to his captors, until a woman struck him across the shin with a stool, and he fell and was taken. Lord Powis kept him in custody, and brought him up to Parliament to be tried. He was indicted for his previous rebellion in St. Giles' Fields, and other offences; in defence he entered into a long disquisition on the mercy of God. Requested to reply to the charges at issue, he replied that he was not to be judged by them and rambled again into irrelevant matter. Finally questioned whether he could allege any reason why he should not be condemned to death, he replied, that he repudiated their jurisdiction as long as his liege lord, Richard II., was alive in Scotland. He was arraigned at the petition of the Commons, and judgment was pronounced by the Lords, that he should be hanged for his treason, and burned for his heresy. The sentence was carried out in St. Giles' Fields, the scene of his rebellion, and he raised the expectations of his followers by announcing that he would rise again after three days, in which they were doomed to disappointment.

With the death of Sir John Oldcastle, the Lollards disappear from public notice. Individuals were cited in various parts of the kingdom. Of those cited, some fled, others recanted, some were punished and a few executed. During the reign of Henry VI., throughout the French troubles, the rebellion of Jack Cade, the wars of the Roses, no mention is made of the Lollards, nothing in the proceedings of Parliament, nothing in the letters of the bishops or synodal records, nothing in the chronicles. Their existence is discoverable only by an occasional execution, and by records of citation and trial in the episcopal registers.

* "De Ill. Hen." p. 122.

† Wals. "Hist. Ang." vol. ii. p. 236.

Such is the survey of the teaching and doings of the Lollards as recorded in history. They have no continuous narrative of their own ; their story has to be pieced together from disjointed references in two or three chronicles, the rolls of Parliament, the records of Convocation, public letters and proclamations, and episcopal registers. The historian has scope for filling in the interstices from his imagination, according to his own bias, and the demands of his readers. If a writer allows warmth of feeling to draw a picture of the Lollards, and it is only a picture, as a sect of earnest men, innocent of guile, seeking for gospel truth and pure religion, and clinging together in unadulterated worship in spite of attempts at harsh repression, other writers follow suit and the public mind is beguiled by a mere picture. It may be touching, it may be edifying, but it is not in the records. In any reference to the Lollards in contemporary documents, we have no record of any religious observance, of meeting for worship, of ecclesiastical organisation, indeed of any corporate existence. They are spoken of as preachers, and preachers without any fixed code or guide to direct them. The gospel they taught was not the gospel of peace, it was a gospel of attack, attack on the temporalities, attack on the friars, attack on the clergy, attack on the prelates, attack on doctrine. Of this we have clear evidence, but we have no record of any constructive belief, of any chapel, of any worship, or of any notes by which we distinguish a sect in our own times. The documentary evidence places their preachers in the churchyard, the market place, and the fields, and their modern equivalent would rather be the spouters in Hyde Park or Peckham Rye, the Pierhead at Liverpool, or the Broomielaw at Glasgow. In addition to their pugnacious attitude towards the doctrine and discipline of the Church, public documents brand them as preachers of sedition and rebellion. They were undoubtedly mixed up with Wat Tyler's rebellion, they invited the Scots to invade England, they had Sir John Oldcastle's rebellion entirely to themselves, and, apart from these three public events, their whole story savours of scheming and tumult. Attempts have been made to white-wash Oldcastle, but the documentary evidence against him is simply convincing. Fuller says of him:

On the other side, I am much startled with the evidence that appeareth

against him. Indeed, I am little moved with what T. Walsingham writes (whom all later authors follow, as a flock, the belewether), knowing him a Benedictine monk of St. Alban's, bowed by interest to partiality; but the records of the Tower, and Acts of Parliament therein, wherein he was solemnly condemned for a traitor, as well as a heretic, challenge belief. For with what confidence, can any private person, promise credit from posterity to his own writings, if such publick documents, be not by him entertained for authentical.*

Now, if any religious feeling be attributed to the Lollards, it was perverted religion to have produced such fruits, and, as far as evidence goes, the only fruits.

How numerous were the Lollards and how far had their doctrines influence over the people? No document contains particulars enough for an approximate estimate of their number. The evidence indicates that they were unevenly distributed; scarcely a trace of them is recorded north of the Humber, in Wales, or in the South-West. The records speak of Shrewsbury, Hereford, Worcester, Lincoln, Leicester, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Essex, and they were supposed to be strong in London, which at that time contained under 50,000 people. So that, excluding the North, Wales, and the South-West, and taking the actual evidence of their presence in the remaining counties, the area of their influence is limited, and it curiously corresponds with the area of the revolt of the peasants. In the places known to have been visited by their preachers the number of listeners is no guide to the number of followers. How many that listen to an orator in Hyde Park adopt his opinions? They never mustered anywhere in any numbers, even the 20,000 stated to have assembled in St. Giles' Fields, according to the testimony of both Walsingham and Capgrave, consisted of hired men.

"And thei that were gadered to go with him," says the latter, "if thei mad question to what entente thei schuld rise, this answer had thei, 'It skil you not, so you have good wage and trewly payed.'"[†]

That the attacks of the preachers on doctrine had any appreciable influence on the people is highly improbable, for the records do not disclose any tendency to fall away from the faith. The attacks on doctrine were always joined to the

* "Church History," book iv. p. 168.

† "Chronicle of England," p. 306 (Rolls Series).

attacks on the clergy and their temporalities, and the indications suggest that the attacks on doctrine tended to alienate whatever sympathy was gained by abuse of the clergy. The baiting of the clergy under their noses had an attraction for any who were nursing discontent or grievances, the very naughtiness of it gave it a piquancy, the people would crowd round the preacher, chuckle inwardly at his sayings, repeat them at home to raise a laugh, but impressions of that kind are very transient. This much is certain, that in spite of all their talk against temporalities, no record shows that they had sufficient influence to deprive the Church of a sixpence.

They are the victims of a cruel persecution: here, too, much emotion has been improvidently wasted. Imagination has played upon sympathy independently of recorded facts. The Lollards are likened to the Covenanters as being compelled to worship their Maker on the wild heath under the blue vault of heaven, or to crouch in the cellars of their houses in order to read the Gospel: all this is pure imagination, unsupported by any document. In those days the machinery of justice was cumbersome, there was no one to molest them at their devotions, if they had any, no police, no detectives. There is little trace of spies and pursuivants in Catholic England, they appeared under the Tudors. The process commenced with a regular citation or summons to appear on a certain day; if the accused should elect not to appear and to take up residence, for a time at least, in another town, no one interfered, and there had to be a fresh citation for a fresh offence in the fresh jurisdiction. And as a matter of record those who chose to disappear escaped with impunity. But stern and harsh laws were enacted, and their administration was cruel and callous. What are the facts and the extent of this cruel persecution? Take the testimony of John Foxe. If any one laboured to swell the white-robed army of martyrs that man was John Foxe; only he was apt to supply the white robe himself. He was the champion of martyrs, he dedicated his life to hunting up evidence, he searched the public documents, parliamentary records, episcopal registers and chronicles; his zeal led him to enlist all he could, and he is known, like the illegal pressgang, to have forced into the service some very doubtful characters. He may be fairly taken as an extreme exponent of the extent

of the persecution. From the accession of Richard II. in 1377 to the accession of Henry VII. in 1485, a period of upwards of one hundred years, the number of executions for heresy recorded by John Foxe is eleven. For four of these he gives no particulars, merely stating that they were burnt, two vaguely "about this time" and on no authority, and the other two on the authority of Fabian, who gives no particulars. Considering that he had himself ransacked the records without finding corroboration, these four may be reckoned as doubtful; in any case, granting that burning for heresy was legitimate and according to the custom of the times, the number is insignificant compared with a corresponding period under the Tudors. Moreover, little is known of the antecedents of the condemned, and how far they were mixed up in sedition and rebellion. Foxe gives the names of eight only who suffered imprisonment as a punishment. He mentions the citation, examination, and subsequent abjuration of some thirty, and no doubt some of them were in prison during the process. He states that some half dozen did public penance after recantation; the rest apparently were dismissed. He gives the names of sixteen in Kent and 110 at Norwich who were cited and did not appear, and he admits that nothing was done to them. This is the whole result of Foxe's researches into this cruel persecution, eleven (more probably seven) suffered death, eight were imprisoned, thirty were examined, abjured, and were dismissed; and this in an interval of upwards of a hundred years. No one can honestly assert on this report any eagerness or avidity to take advantage of the law, and the numbers are furnished by an avowed advocate and partisan. On the other hand, consider the intense provocation that the clergy received. To have these unlicensed preachers haranguing their parishioners was trying enough, but when they themselves were the subject of the sermons, when their mode of living and their means of livelihood were attacked; when their life and conduct were held up to ridicule by tinkers and tailors in the market place and in their own churchyards, it became almost unbearable. Yet see their reprisals: they had these men at their mercy by the law, yet in astonishingly few cases did they take any action, and no one can read the accounts of the actual trials without bearing testimony to the calm, patient, and forbearing manner

with which the culprits were dealt with, and to the prevailing tone of reclamation rather than punishment. The more violent and virulent the attacks on Pope, prelate, and cleric, the clearer stand out the forbearance and forgiveness of the clergy of those days.

Lollards are said to have been a revival and "awakening of religion," the "first Protestants," the dawn of the Reformation. That they were a revival of religious feeling in any modern sense of the term the records clearly contradict. That they were the dawn of the Reformation may be true in a certain sense. Their clamouring for the abolition of the temporalities of the Church may have foreshadowed the seizure of Church property by Henry VIII., their loose notions of orders may have been a prelude to the lax ideas of the necessity of orders prevalent amongst the Reformers, and their unlicensed preaching was a forerunner of the preaching of the sects in later days. Whether the doctrinal negations concerning the Eucharist, Confession, indulgences, or images adopted by the Reformers were a survival of the Lollards, or not rather a new article made in Germany, is open to question. If the fairness or foulness of the dawn is a harbinger of the weather of the day, then the dawn of the Lollards betokened a murky and a dirty day for the coming Reformation.

ART. III.—THE CHURCH OF BORDEAUX DURING THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ENGLISH DOMINION (*concluded*).

IV.—THE CHAPTER OF SAINT SEURIN.

WE can safely say, without fear of being accused of exaggeration, that the religious institutions of the “Borde Sent Seurin” were of great antiquity, and probably dated back to the first beginnings of Christianity at Bordeaux. The basilica in which the chapter celebrated the Divine Office was renowned, *ab antiquo*, for the wonderful relics which it contained; it was surrounded by a hallowed churchyard, whose glory was sung by the legendaries of the Middle Ages, and which, according to what they tell us, like the Aliscans of Arles, was consecrated by Our Lord Himself. It is to St. Gregory of Tours that we owe the earliest historical facts relating to the holy bishop Seurin who governed the Church of Bordeaux at the beginning of the fifth century, and who, on account of his virtues and of his miracles, became one of the most venerated patrons of this Church, and also of the town itself. The clerics who were appointed to the care of his tomb very quickly made their position one of great importance in a double sense, both in point of view of riches and of political and civil power. The faithful dedicated to “God and St. Seurin” houses, ground, rents, and tithes: the Counts of Gascony bestowed upon the basilica, that is to say upon those in charge of it, many important privileges. This charge was, at first, held by monks, but afterwards it fell into the hands of the Canons Regular. It appears that at the close of the twelfth century these were not altogether faithful to their duties. A bull of Lucius II., issued about the year 1150, commanded that the old rules should be restored and preserved for ever at St. Seurin.

Some years later (1188), the canons, who had become secularised, in conjunction with the Archbishop Héliés, of Malemort, petitioned Pope Clement III. that their secularisation should be formerly ratified. The Pope consented, and the Archbishop was commanded to nominate the

procurator of St. André to give to the Chapter of St. Seurin the rule in conformity to the use which had been established there for forty years. In the event of the procurator's refusal, the Pope gave the commission to the bishops of Aire and Dax. As the carrying out of this command necessitated the destruction of many observances whose holiness and antiquity had rendered them venerable, no one would undertake the performance of it, and the Archbishop was constrained to act by himself. After hearing some witnesses, as a matter of form, he decided that the Church of St. Seurin should remain in the same state in which it had stood for forty years, that is to say that the canons should be secularised, and that there should be established between the two chapters an agreement providing that the canons of St. Seurin should no longer be troubled on the score of irregularity by those of St. André, while, at the same time, they should continue to live in community.*

Thus at the time of which we are writing St. Seurin had been for many years a secular college; the number of its prebendaries varied from time to time, and I have not been able to discover with anything like certainty how many were to be found there during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. According to M. Cirot, of Bordeaux, it had, at first, eighteen canons, then thirteen, sixteen, and twelve. Each canon was obliged to have a priest or cleric in his service, otherwise he was not accounted as resident. These chaplains were paid by the chapter. They said Mass on simples or ferias in place of the canons whom they represented, so that unless the day was sufficiently solemn for Mass to be celebrated at the High Altar, it was said during the week by the chaplain at the altar of Saint Amand. It is hardly necessary to add that the celebration of the Divine Office, the service of *obits* and other foundations formed the daily duties of the canons.

There were four dignitaries: the dean, the head of the Chapter by whom he was elected; the sacristan, who performed the duties of curate and administered the sacraments to the inhabitants of the "borc de Sent Seurin"; the treasurer, and the provost. We find them constantly mentioned in the documents of that time, and especially in the accounts belonging to the Archbishopric.

The Chapter was a noble and powerful ruler possessing entire jurisdiction over a large territory. In the outskirts of the town, surrounding the basilica, there were established "safeties" where

* Dom Devienne.

its jurisdiction was final and without appeal. The "bounds" extended from Peugue to the Croix-de-Segney, and continued as far as the Roman walls of the city. The inhabitants of the "safeties" were under feudal obligations to the Chapter and rendered it forced labour and two deniers for every tun of wine, and a fat hen at Christmas. Over and above this the Chapter exercised religious, civil and criminal jurisdiction over the two quarters of Bouscat and Caudéran. It possessed its own tribunal for the judgment of its parishioners.* Naturally it had its own prisons. The wine belonging to all the members and "dependents" of the Chapter was privileged.

In the interior of the town it conferred the rectories or perpetual curacies of Saint Remy, Saint Mexans, Saint Christoly, and of Notre Dame de Puy Paulin.

During the Middle Ages the canons of St. Seurin belonged mostly to the nobility and to the richest bourgeois families of Bordeaux. Many of their number played a very important part in the political world, and the Chapter generally took a very active interest in the affairs of the city. It was from the Altar of St. Seurin that the Dukes of Guyenne or their representatives received their standards before setting out to war. This venerated sanctuary was also the theatre of some of the most solemn acts of municipal life. As soon as the new *jurats* had taken the oath at St. André, they repaired to the collegiate church accompanied by their immediate predecessors "*per recebre lo segrament de mossenhor lo mager et deu clerck de la bila*;" the mayor, the clerk, the treasurer, the vice-mayor, the provost and his clerk, swore "*sobre lo fort Saint Seurin*," to loyally fulfil their duties for the greater good of the city, of the bourgeois and of the "common people."

We have already seen that the Chapter of Saint Seurin held the administration of justice in its "safeties" and in the out-lying districts. As may be easily imagined this privilege was looked upon with anything but good grace by the Commune, and many were the disputes which arose in consequence. In 1277 the "safeties" suffered a veritable assault, the people, called to arms by the bell (the formidable *senh*) of the Hôtel de Ville, rose in revolt and headed by the mayor and the *jurats*,

* C. Jullian.

they pillaged and set fire to the houses of the canons. The Archbishop brought the matter before the King of France as suzerain, and things were peacefully settled, full satisfaction being made to the victims of the attack.

In 1347 a fresh arrangement was made. I consider it necessary to analyse this carefully, as it precisely determines the respective rights of the Chapter and its officers on the one hand, of the mayor and the *jurats* on the other, at the commencement of the time of which we are speaking.

(1) The latter undertook in the first place not to support the serfs of Caudéran and of Bouscat in their proceedings against the Chapter, and agreed that the Chapter should again hold possession of the said serfs according to the decision given by the seneschal after the inquiry commanded on November 16, 1346, by Henry, Earl of Lancaster.

(2) The Chapter should act both as civil and criminal judge over the people living on their lands of Bouscat and of Caudéran, provided always that their delinquencies did not merit death, mutilation, or a fine of more than 65 sous.

(3) The Chapter should act as judge in similar cases over the household and servants of the canons, as well as over the household, servants, and other persons living upon the lands belonging to the Chapter.

(4) The mayor and *jurats* shall be judges over crimes meriting those punishments mentioned in Article 2 of the Convention, when the said crimes have been committed under their jurisdiction, but not within the "safeties" of St. Seurin, by the inhabitants of that jurisdiction, or by strangers against them. At the same time, such sentences shall be carried out at Bordeaux, upon the site ordinarily used for executions. Sergeants shall be maintained by the Commune within the jurisdiction of St. Seurin.

(5) The mayor and *jurats* shall act as judges both civil and criminal over the affairs which concern the people of Bordeaux holding possessions in Caudéran, Bouscat, and Villenave, over their families and their *bordiers* (*métayers*), as also over persons residing in those places, but outside the Chapter lands. Nevertheless, all feudal questions shall be referred to the lords of the fiefs, and all parochial rights to the Chapter.

(6) The king, the seneschal, or his officers, shall be judges

both civil and criminal over the households of the canons, and of those who live under their jurisdiction, as also over strangers, with the exception of those cases already deferred to the Chapter.

I am not able to state precisely the exact fortune possessed by the Chapter. I only know that in 1362, on the occasion of a levy of tithes being made for the benefit of the Pope, its revenues were estimated at 1530 livres, those of the sacristan at 801, and those of the treasurer at 10 livres. Moreover, in 1312, the daily revenue of each prebend was, from ancient date, taxed at 3 sous; finally, in September 1400, the Chapter, whilst commanding the free loan of cloth of gold for the burial of the canons, gave as a reason for doing so, that the prebends were much reduced *propter frequentes mortalitates, gelatas et tempestates, necnon guerrarum discrimina*. The canons, however, found means to increase the splendour of their church; it was at the end of the fourteenth century that they built the charming little church, still known under the name of Chapel of Our Lady of the Rose, whose altar, consecrated by Pey Berland in 1444, was discovered underneath some hideous modern wood carvings about forty years ago.

The Chapter of St. Seurin was more strictly dependent upon the jurisdiction of the Archbishop than that of Saint André, in this sense at least, that half its stalls were directly conferred by the prelate. It was necessary for him, when first entering upon his duties, to go through the ceremony of enthronement there, after having sworn to observe and to defend "the liberties, agreements, and privileges" of the Chapter. There still exists in the choir of St. Seurin an exquisite episcopal throne, a real lacework of stone, which recalls to mind this custom, and upon which, from the end of the fifteenth century to the Revolution, our Archbishops sat before taking possession of their Metropolitan Church. The canons of St. Seurin were jealously careful of this honour, and all the more so that they liked to see in it a proof of the great antiquity of their church, which, according to them, was the first cathedral in Bordeaux. Bertrand de Roqueis, nominated Archbishop in 1380, being wishful to take possession of his See without submitting to the customary form, the collegiate Chapter made a very energetic protest against him in the

following Act, the translation of which I have borrowed from Dom Devienne :

It is of very ancient custom that the reverend fathers, Archbishops of Bordeaux, after having been consecrated outside of the town, should be enthroned in their pontifical robes in the Church of St. Seurin : for the performance of this ceremony they shall sit upon the throne destined to this use in the church. After which they shall be carried by the nobles of Blaye, Arbenats, Puy-Paulin and the *capal* of Tresne. The people and the Chapter of St. Seurin shall go before, and they shall enter by the Medoc gate and proceed to St. André. Having sworn the customary oaths upon the Holy Gospels at the door of this church, the said nobles shall put down the archbishop at the foot of the High Altar, where shall be sung a solemn Mass. Before this ceremony has been gone through it is not usual to enter the episcopal palace, and this custom is so strictly observed, that if he who has been elected Archbishop of Bordeaux happens to be in the town at the time of his election, he leaves it to be consecrated outside, and so to carry out the ceremonial above mentioned. Notwithstanding all this, you have taken it upon yourself to disregard these formalities, putting forth excuses which cannot be accepted, greatly to the prejudice of the Church of Bordeaux, and giving bad example to your successors ; and because your Chapter opposed your entrance into the episcopal palace before you had complied with this ceremony, you threatened them with excommunication ; you rode through the streets on horseback, causing your cross to be carried before you, and blessing the people, though you were not even consecrated at the time. You also entered your palace without having taken the oath, and you boasted of having been consecrated there. In consequence of all this, we declare to you that, for the protection of our rights and customs, we shall make an appeal to the Sovereign Pontiff, relating to him all that you have done, and all that you may still do to our prejudice, and we place ourselves under the safeguard of His Holiness, and under the protection of the Holy See, as a guarantee against anything that you may be advised to do against us.

Shortly after the period of which I am writing, in 1458, Pius II. totally exempted the Chapter of St. Seurin from archiepiscopal jurisdiction.

V.—THE CHAPTER OF SAINT ANDRÉ.

As I have already mentioned, we are pretty accurately informed with regard to this very active and very influential body, first, because what remains to us of its archives is catalogued and scheduled, and secondly, because the Metropolitan Church and its Chapter possessed in the seventeenth century,

in the person of the Canon Theologian, Hiérosme Lopès, an historian, who, without being an absolutely unerring critic, was well conversant with the annals and archives, and who has given as proofs for his book a number of documents, the originals of which have long since disappeared.

How far back does the institution of the canonical body in our church date? This question is very probably insoluble. Lopès, naturally, would like to put back the origin of the Chapter to which he belonged as far as the beginning of the episcopal line itself. In any case, it is of no importance. What is very certain is, that in the most ancient charters which have been preserved, we find mention made both of the Chapter as a body and of the greater number of its dignitaries.

Between 1350-1450, the prebendary canons probably numbered twenty-four; there were certainly ten dignitaries, for we find them constantly mentioned in our documents, and especially in the accounts belonging to the Archbishop: first of all the dean, who was necessarily a prebendary and a member of the Chapter; the others, though mostly actual canons, were not necessarily so: they were the three archdeacons of Medoc, of Cernès, and of Blaye; the cantor, the treasurer, the master of the schools, the vice-dean, the sacristan and the under cantor. As at Saint Seurin, each canon was obliged to have with him a residential cleric, who was deputed to assist him in the choir, and to supply for him, if necessary, in the performance of some of his duties. We must add to this establishment the titular ecclesiastics of the various chapelries, founded in large numbers in the Church of Saint André, and of which Lopès has only been able to point out the principal ones. As in other places, the Divine Office was celebrated there daily, both in the morning and evening, besides innumerable votive masses, obits, &c., founded either obligatorily, by the members of the Chapter, or spontaneously, by various benefactors.

After following, for a long time, the institutions of the Canons Regular, those of Saint André finally obtained their secularisation from Clement V., who had once belonged to their body, and who, later on, had become their Archbishop. Their ancient statutes have not come down to us in their primitive tenor, but our archives have preserved authentic copies of special regulations, from which we can form an idea of their

customs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, relating to the residence which was bound to be continuous, and in the particular canonical house deputed to each one; the choice of these houses; the assistance at the various offices; the absences, both regular and irregular; the consequences of each with regard to the revenues; the holding of capitulary assemblies fixed, at first, for the Thursday of every week, afterwards, from 1410, fortnightly; the administration of property; the obligation upon the canons to give to the Church, *intra biennium* after their election, a processional cope worth 50 livres—(the dean was obliged to give one worth 100 livres)—and to found an anniversary, &c.

The canons of St. André were elected by co-option, and were taken principally from among the nobles and the graduates; the Chapter, as a body, provided for vacancies; no resignation or transfer could take place without its consent. The Archbishop possessed no authority over the collation of prebends; he could not oppose the choice of the Chapter without grave reasons, nor confer dignities without its consent. The dean was elective. It is hardly necessary to add that the Chapter ruled the diocese through its vicars *sede vacante*; it elected the Archbishop, except, of course, in the case of accidental derogations to its rights and reservations, or direct appointments of the Sovereign Pontiffs.

If prebendaries and other dignitaries were more numerous at St. André than at St. Seurin, the Metropolitan Chapter was also richer than that of the Collegiate Church. In 1362, the precious tithe roll levied upon the various livings of the diocese for the benefit of Clement VI., shows us that the total revenue of the Chapter, as a body, and of its dignitaries amounted to 3457 Bordeaux livres.

We are able to discover the sources with a fair amount of certainty, thanks to very numerous documents which follow each other almost without a break, from the thirteenth century, at least, until the Revolution. On the 2nd of August, 1228, Gregory IX. issued a long bull at Perugia, confirming the privileges of the Chapter, and enumerating, in detail, its possessions, churches, tithes, fiefs, rates, lands, mills and rights of coinage and vintage. I cannot, of course, enter into details, but I will give an idea of the whole, by quoting a few lines of a

declaration which, in reality, belongs to the seventeenth century, but whose perfect accuracy, with the exception of one point alone, which I will signalise, is proved by anterior documents :

Declaration of lands, courts of justice and manors belonging to the Chapter of the Church of Bordeaux, together with other fiefs directly depending upon it. . . . The Chapter holds high, middle, and low juridical power over all that part or small district of the present town commonly called the *Sauvetat de Saint André*, with right of enclosures, which district comprises and encloses the body of the large church, the archiepiscopal palace, the houses both of the deans, dignitaries, canons and chapter, and the other benefice holders of the said church. . . . and in general all which lies between the two washing places or streams, commonly called the *Peuge* and the *Devise*;—moreover, that a third of the seignury of the money, which is coined in the duchy of Guyenne, belongs to it in consequence of the grants made by the counts and dukes of Guyenne, and confirmed by the now reigning king and by the kings, his predecessors;—moreover, that the said Chapter shall be lord and judge over the whole of the castle. . . . of Verteuil [this was not so at the time of which I am writing, the Chapter not having acquired Verteuil before 1439, by a deed of gift from Pierre de Bosco, canon and cantor of Saint André]; moreover, the said Chapter is lord and judge over all the land and barony of Cadaujac in Gascony, holding high, low and middle jurisdiction over the parishes of Cadaujac and of Martillac, with the castle and enclosures of the later, rates, revenues, manorial right of coinage, fiefs and duties, right of fishing in the river Garonne. . . . ; also over all the house and barony of Lidonne en Bourgez, consisting of land rents, seignorial rights, both in Lidonne and the suburb of Bourg, and in the parishes of Camillas, Tauriac. . . . &c.

We must add the court of justice and barony of Lège adjoining Teste de Buch, with right of fishing, hunting, coast dues and wreckage.

Lopès has very clearly explained all that regards seignorial right of coinage :

It was conferred upon the Chapter by Bernard-Guillaume, son of Duke Guillaume-Sonce, and confirmed later by Sonce Guillaume, his brother, and by Béranger and Odon, all dukes or counts of Gascony and of Bordeaux. Afterwards, this duchy or county having fallen to the share of the family of the Dukes of Guyenne, who on that account styled themselves 'Dukes of all Aquitaine,' they also displayed the same affection towards the chapter as their predecessors, and again conferred upon it the great privilege which made it lord of one-third of the money coined in the duchy or county of Gascony. . . . I will quote, at the end, the act of confirmation and the deed of gift made by Duke William VIII., grandfather of Eleanor. The deed was laid upon the high altar and

sealed there, which was the mark of an authentic investiture. The Duke then gave the kiss of peace to the Dean and the canons. This deed was again confirmed by the Duke's granddaughter, Eleanor, who, after her divorce, married Henry, King of England. This right of the Chapter, which had been so firmly established, was never disputed by the Kings of England, Dukes of Guyenne. But their officials, wishing to deprive the Chapter of the advantages which this right conferred, decided to erect a mint at Langon. On account of this the Chapter brought an action against them, and the affair being carried to Paris before King Philip the Bold, judgment was given in favour of the Chapter, in the month of August 1275, and the King of England and his officials were condemned to pay the arrears upon a third part of the right of coinage, even of that money which had been coined outside of Bordeaux. The Kings of England, Dukes of Gascony, who succeeded, recognised this law and made many declarations in favour of the same Chapter. Our kings, when they re-entered into possession of Bordeaux and Guyenne, were no less favourable to it.

The Chapter had also received from the counts of Gascony the right of vintage. But I have not been able to find any texts which could give any possible proofs that they were left in the enjoyment of this power during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Its wines, however, were duty free.

Privileged by princes, enriched both by them and their subjects, the Chapter was also loaded with spiritual graces by the Popes of the Middle Ages. Lopès gives us a long enumeration of their bulls and quotes many of them. It would be impossible for me to enter into details. I will only mention the right of immediate collation over more than half the parishes of Bordeaux, and over several in the country, and many honorary rights.

Thus, as we can see, the Metropolitan Chapter of Bordeaux was a strong and rich corporation; it was a body which had to be considered both by the Archbishops, the Government, and the local powers. If we study the documents of that time, and particularly the genuine Bordeaux texts which have been published by the Commission of Municipal Archives, we shall find constant mention of our canons upon every page, agitating, consulting, and sometimes even fighting.

VI.—THE ARCHBISHOP.

More powerful still, because of his eminent dignity, his riches and his feudal rights, and often because of his birth,

which made him rank as equal to the most noble families of the province, was the Archbishop of Bordeaux, in the Middle Ages. His church, to which historians have attributed an apostolic origin, was certainly one of the most ancient in the West; his diocese was considerable and, as we have already seen, the parishes, priories, abbeys, &c., belonging to it were very numerous; his metropolitan jurisdiction was exercised over a vast territory. At the time of which we are writing, owing to the sovereign decision of Clement V., he was, and had been for nearly fifty years, definitely independent of the primatial authority of the Archbishop of Bourges.

I will not dwell upon this question of primacy which, for a long time, was a cause of the bitterest envy, even after the date upon which it was definitely settled. As regards the rank of Metropolitan, which was always recognised as belonging to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, it gave him pre-eminence, not only, as in the time of Clement V., over five bishops, but over nine, after four new episcopal churches had been erected in 1317 in the province by John XXII.—viz.: Luçon, Maillezais, Condom and Sarlat.

We know that, in the Middle Ages, the rights of Metropolitans in their own province were considerable and very effectively exercised. Clement V. guaranteed to his successors in the See of Bordeaux all that the discipline then in vigour prescribed, and even added to it. Lopès has published some bulls, the analysis of which would take me too long; but it will be sufficient for me to say that they related to special powers for visitations in the province, for ordinations and the collation of certain benefices in the suffragan dioceses; the right of uniting and separating churches, dignitaries and personal offices in his own diocese without asking the consent of his Chapter; also power to nominate three canons, &c.

In the eighteenth century the Archbishop of Bordeaux was one of the ordinaries of France whose rights of collation were the least restricted by those of patrons and collators whether ecclesiastical or lay. From what we can learn it appears that he held the same position in the Middle Ages with regard to the benefices of his diocese. But it is quite certain that the number of parishes united to the abbeys and chapters was restricted. We have a proof of this in a roll of 1429 not

hitherto published. I am not able, for want of precise documents, to compare with certainty the proportion of benefices conferred, *pleno jure*, by our archbishops in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with those of which they had not the entire disposal. It is true that, in 1458, the first French archbishop, Blaise de Gréelle, claimed to possess unlimited rights in this respect, but this gratuitous affirmation is disproved by a number of reliable facts.

It does not appear that, at the time of which I am writing, the archdeacons of the Metropolitan church possessed any special authority *qua tales*. Anyhow, I can only say that I have not been able to discover any traces of it among the numerous documents which I have studied.

The Archbishops were assisted in governing by their vicars-general, and by other officials. (I will speak more of these later on.) Two of their number had auxiliaries who bore the episcopal character. Amanieu de la Mothe, who was hardly ever in residence, employed as his substitute in functions the Bishop of Chrysopolis, in Macedonia; Raymond de Roqueis, a constant invalid, required the same services from another titular bishop, *episcopus Tringuillensis*, whose church I have not been able to identify, the name, most likely, having been misspelled by those procurators who inserted it in their account books.

The two principal methods of government employed by our Archbishops, at the end of the Middle Ages, were synods and visitations.

Ecclesiastical affairs, [says M. Leo Drouyn] were discussed at the synods which were assembled every year at Bordeaux and at Blaye; the first was held at Easter time and the other in the month of October. These reunions are sometimes distinguished as "summer synods" and "winter synods," and as "synods of St. Hilary"; it is believed, however, that the "summer synod" and that called the "Pascal" and "St. Hilary" synod, were one and the same thing, as also were the "winter synod" and the one generally held in October. To defray the expenses of these assemblies the Archbishop levied a tax which it was the duty of the archpriests to transmit to him. The synods were held, as we have already said, at Bordeaux or at Blaye according to circumstance or necessity; thus the Easter synod was celebrated at Blaye in 1356 and 1357, but more often at Bordeaux, while that of October was generally held at Blaye.

According to an inventory of 1656, the ancient archives of the archbishopric contained at that time a number of returns of the visitations made by our Archbishops; they have disappeared by this with the exception of a slender volume of the fifteenth century. The accounts of the archbishopric have preserved for us the traces of a few of these visitations which, it appears, were not of very regular occurrence, and of which, in any case, they do not give us any details.

As regards the provincial councils I can only mention that of Périgueux, held in 1365 under the presidency of Héliés of Salignac, and at which, according to Hefele, seventeen bishops assisted. We do not possess either the acts or the decrees of this council. We only know that :

The opening discourse was pronounced by the Bishop of Sarlat (Austère de Sainte Colombe) who was renowned as a theologian as well as an administrator. The orator eulogised so highly Edward Prince of Wales, who was present as Governor of Aquitaine, that he even went so far as to compare him to the Son of God. An accusation being brought against him on this account, he presented himself before Pope Urban V., who had already returned to Italy, to make his defence. As none of his adversaries put in an appearance against him, however, the affair fell through.

A very high position, and one of great influence, was that of the official of the Archbishop. Our readers already know how the power of ecclesiastical justice, far better administered than the secular, was being constantly extended; it often happened that persons amenable to justice, had recourse to it of 'heir own accord, thus drawing down upon themselves the bad will, and oftentimes the violence, of the various administrators of the civil law. It was the same with us as elsewhere, as we are shown by indisputable proofs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Already in 1277 affairs had arrived at such a crisis that the Archbishop and Chapter of Saint Seurin found it necessary to appeal to the suzerain, the King of France, for a remedy. At the beginning of the fifteenth century a fresh dispute arose between David de Montferrand and the *jurade*.

From the first pages of the register of 1414 until the last of that of 1420 [says Prof. Barckhausen], "we find incessant litigations concerning ecclesiastical affairs or ecclesiastics. Either it is the church of St.

Michel, or the sale of wines in taverns, or the privileges of sanctuary, or the reimbursement of sums due to the Chapters of St. André and of St. Seurin, or again, and this most often, the rivalry between ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction, which turn about, or often together, are the cause of disputes, spreading trouble over the town. The opposing parties have recourse to the most extreme measures. If the *jurats* seize property and persons, the archbishop fulminates censures and excommunications. The Pope and the King of England are called upon to intervene, And thus the dispute assumes the importance of a political and diplomatic question.

It was not, however, without scruples, that the people of Bordeaux entered into a dispute with their pastor. Above all, when sickness or old age threatened them with a speedy death, they were in fear and trembling for the eternal salvation of their souls. Moreover the influence of the clergy was so very powerful in Guyenne that it was said of it later : In the time of the English the churchmen governed everything.

The few registers of the court of the official of Bordeaux which remain to us, give us an idea of the great variety of cases which were tried before him and of the acts of which he was the authorised witness : wills, sales of the goods belonging to widows and to minors ; inventories ; pious legacies and naturally, ecclesiastical law suits.

Side by side with his officiality, the Archbishop had an *officius vicariatus* ; he required the services of vicars-general and these again had to have clerics under them who scheduled the letters of collation, ordination, legitimation, dispensation of residence, &c.

The temporality of the archbishopric was very considerable and contributed greatly to the influence and importance of the prelate, whose household was on such a large scale that great resources were necessary to maintain it.

He was overlord of numerous fiefs, for which homage was paid to him ; was a large landed proprietor in Bordeaux, Bazadais, Saintonge and Périgord, and the castles which he possessed in these places, of which I will only mention Lormont and Montravel, owed him obedience, service, presents in goods or in money, innumerable vassals, tenantry and serfs, some of whom filled the places of domestic servants.

In Bordeaux itself there was hardly any street in which he did not possess some tenants ; the same could also be said of many parishes in the diocese and in the province ; he was the

sole holder of tithes in certain districts ; in others the possessors of enfeoffed tithes held them from him.

The Dukes of Guyenne had granted to him the right of levying a certain part of the indirect taxes, collected by their officers under the name of " Bordeaux Customs."

While his own lands produced great quantities of grain, wine and hay, the Archbishop also beheld his granaries filled with wheat, rye and oats paid in by his tenants. This was a tax in kind which the curés of nearly all his parishes were obliged to pay. His procurators, after providing for all the wants of the house, had to dispose of the surplus both of grain and wine. The brokers from England, who came over to purchase these stores, were very well received, and sometimes even dined at the archiepiscopal palace.

To these ordinary sources of revenue we must add the extraordinary ones. Upon the arrival of a new archbishop, besides the *subsidiū caritativū* accorded by all holders of benefices, another subsidy was made for the *pallium*, taxes or tithes imposed by the Curia, and of which the archbishop kept at least a small portion.

If the receipts were abundant, the expenses also were very great, and the 4000 Bordeaux livres of annual revenue, which the tithe-roll of 1362 displays, hardly sufficed for the wants of the prelate who, at the period of which I am writing, was nearly always a great nobleman.

His household was very numerous: the official with his clerks, procurators, vicars-general, sometimes an auxiliary bishop, his chaplains and cantors; his service consisting of chamberlains, esquires, doorkeepers, cooks and scullions, ostlers, huntsmen, falconers, and sometimes even a dwarf. All these people were, the greater part of the time, kept at the expense of the archbishop, or at least received from him the expenses of their board. Added to this, at certain fixed times, the procurators made to the dependents of the prelate a donation of stuffs, furs, ready-made clothing and shoes. They travelled about a great deal in those days and with a large retinue of horses and servants, and this was very expensive. The cultivation of the land, care of the wines, expenses of the vintage, repairs to the palace and to the châteaux, all required large sums of money.

Still another source of enormous expenditure to our Archbishops was the custom of constantly keeping open house for their brothers and nephews, who came in shoals with their friends, valets, horses and dogs, and not only were they made welcome but they were loaded with presents of silver, wine, grain, salt fish, swords, gold and silver girdles, furs, cloth, &c.

Such was the mode of life followed by our Archbishops, of which the accounts kept by their procurators give us an exact idea. But, from a strictly religious point of view, we have very meagre accounts of their actions, as all the deeds and ordinances of their synods have disappeared. From a political point of view, however, they were, particularly during the crises of the fifteenth century, the *defensores civitatis*, taking an active part in all affairs, negotiating and travelling about incessantly *pro defensione patriae*, lending their money and their plate. They were the business men of the province in the noblest sense of the word, intelligent and devoted.

We are well acquainted with all the prelates who governed our Church from 1350 to 1450 ; the first one, Amanieu de la Mothe, of the family of Clement V., was a great nobleman of high family, sumptuous and open-handed ; the last one, Pey Berland, was a peasant from Médoc, learned and holy, devotedly attached to the Holy See, to his Church and to his country, whose two great and noble passions were literature and the poor. It is chiefly to him that Bordeaux owes her university.

This memoir does not require a conclusion in the ordinary sense of the word. It is merely a contribution of critical and certain data to the history of the ecclesiastical institutions of Guyenne during the Middle Ages. I could have wished that there had been fewer lacunæ, but I consider that, in this kind of work, it is better to be incomplete than to allow oneself to be guided by the imagination, or to make statements over and above those which are warranted by the documents.

ERNEST ALLAIN.

ART. IV.—“BROTHER LUIZ DE SOUSA.”

THE author of this play, extracts from which now appear for the first time in English, was the chief glory of Portuguese literature in the earlier half of the present century. At once poet and patriot, soldier and diplomat, journalist, orator, and novelist, he merited the remark of Rebello da Silva : “Garrett was not a man of letters only, but an entire literature in himself.” *

João Baptista de Almeida Garrett was born in 1799 and died in 1854, so that he lived through a period of storm and stress, and witnessed changes as momentous in his own land as in Europe at large, while at the same time he took a leading part in the politics, the art, and the literature of his day. His temperament was that of a woman, sympathetic, religious and artistic in the highest degree and the range of his education wide, including as it did ancient and modern languages and literatures, together with philosophy and law. The record of his career proves him to have been among the most versatile of men, and, with one exception, he made a mark in whatever he undertook. True, he did not succeed in politics, since, though for a short time Minister, he was too outspoken and honest to make a good politician, and besides he possessed more heart than head, as he used to say of himself, which accounted for many of the misfortunes that clouded his life. He suffered exiles and imprisonments in the cause of liberty, and formed one of the 7500 braves who landed at the Mindello on the memorable day of July 8, 1832, to overthrow the old order of things in Portugal, typified in the person of Don Miguel. After having as a soldier helped to pull down the absolute *régime*, as a legist he assisted in the erection of the new, by drafting those laws which altered the whole framework of Portuguese society, and especially by compiling the criminal, commercial, and administrative codes. It is perhaps worthy of

* A most exhaustive and interesting Life of Garrett has been published by Senhor Gomes de Amorim, entitled “Garrett, Memórias Biographicas.” Three vols. Lisbon. 1881-4. It was a labour of love, for the poet died in his arms, and is, therefore, somewhat uncritical.

remark that he spent some time in England during his exiles, and, while admiring our love of freedom, he was disagreeably impressed, as a superior mind could hardly fail to be, by our worship of wealth, materialistic views of life, and disdain of foreigners. Considered as a Parliamentary orator, he holds, by common consent, the first place for breadth and nobility of ideas and felicity of expression, combined with a natural eloquence; his presence, manner, and gestures were all admirable.* Apart from a somewhat irregular life, Garrett's great defect was his self-consciousness, which is clearly evidenced in the prefaces to his various works. These, though signed by the publishers, all proceed from his pen, and yet are unique and priceless, in that each displays some fresh side of his genius, each contains some new idea clothed in nervous and elegant language, for he was a great artist in words, and his prose possesses a fine aristocratic flavour different from any other in the whole range of Portuguese literature.† His stay in England and France had made him acquainted with the masterpieces of the Romantic Movement, and imbued him with a love of popular poetry, leading him to become an apostle of the new school, which obtained an easy triumph in Portugal under his auspices. "Camoens"—a poem on a poem—destroyed the influence of the worn-out Classical and Arcadian rhymers; while the publication of his "Romanceiro" was the first step towards laying bare the rich folklore and traditional poetry of the Portuguese people. His earlier verse belongs to the school of Bocage, and at first it seemed likely that his talents would be smothered by a hostile environment, as those of his master had been, but a residence abroad, and the perusal of Scott and Byron widened the scope of his ideas in the same way that the study of Schiller and Goethe gave a new vigour and profundity of thought to the work of his later years. As a lyric poet his most popular song-book is undoubtedly the

* His most famous speeches are perhaps the two delivered on October 9 and 12, 1837, on the formation of a Second Chamber of the Cortes, and that on February 8, 1840, on the Reply to the Queen's Speech; the last is nicknamed "Porto Pyreo." They have been reprinted in vol. xxiii. of his collected works.

† *Vide* the preface to the "Folhas Cahidas," with its splendid apostrophe to the "Men of the World," and more especially his delightful novel "Viagens na minha terra."

"Folhas Cahidas," a collection of short poems, written when he was past fifty—an astonishing performance, that bears witness to his uncommon powers. Herculano has well said of this book, "If Camoens had written love verses at Garrett's age, he could not have equalled him."

But his chief title to fame lies in the restoration of the Portuguese theatre. Gil Vicente had founded the theatre in Portugal, and exercised considerable influence over the Spanish drama, but left no successors with sufficient ability to both continue and develop his work—another instance of how it has been the fate of Portugal to commence some of the greatest achievements in history, and see them carried out and the fruits reaped by foreign hands. But other causes conspired to prevent the growth of a national theatre, the chief of which were the crushing influence of Spanish literature, especially after 1580, the opposition of the Jesuits with their Tragiomedies in Latin, and the censures of the Index. Even in the last century matters grew little better. Antonio José, a dramatist of little merit, perhaps, but one whose works stood high in the popular esteem, was burnt by the Inquisition, while Garção, who possessed talents of the first order, was done to death by Pombal. Finally, the all-absorbing taste for Italian opera among the upper classes left no educated public to encourage and sustain a genuine Portuguese drama.*

Garrett had two objects before him when he set about his self-imposed task—firstly, to exile the translations on which the playhouses had so long subsisted; and secondly, to lay the foundation of a radically Portuguese school of authors. To accomplish this he chose the subjects of his plays from the national history, and began with Gil Vicente himself, hoping by resuscitating the personality of its founder to revive the theatre itself, and he followed this up by a number of other works, of which the most powerful is unquestionably the "Alfageme de Santarem," a play that merits an English dress. Finally, he set the crown on his labours by producing in 1843 "Brother Luiz de Sousa," which is not only his masterpiece, but at the same time one of the few great prose dramas our century can

* I hope to deal with the history of the Portuguese theatre at some length in the introduction to my version of "Brother Luiz de Sousa," to be published shortly.

boast. This play is destined to live, in spite of the fact that the cult for Garrett has declined owing to the excesses of his followers and the bathos of ultra-romanticism, because it is not only a true work of art, but one as characteristically Portuguese as the *Lusiads* of Camoens.

The period of the play is that of the Spanish domination over Portugal, known as the Sixty Years' Captivity, and the main features of the plot are historically true. The hero, Brother Luiz (known as Manoel in the play, Luiz being his name in religion), is the famous Dominican prose writer, author of the "*Vida do Arcebispo*," and the "*Historia de S. Domingos*." At once poet, nobleman, and soldier, he had married D. Magdalena de Vilhena, whose first husband, D. João de Portugal, was presumed to have fallen with King Sebastião at the battle of Alcacer Kibir, some twenty-one years before the play opens. Of this union there had sprung one child only, Maria by name, who, like many consumptives, was an abnormally sharp, sensitive, and thoughtful girl. She had all along divined the catastrophe which is the outcome of the play, together with Telmo, an old servant of D. João, who was a "Sebastianista," and refused to believe in the death of his master. These, with Jorge, a Dominican friar, brother to Manoel, as we must now style Luiz, and the Palmer, who is none other than D. João himself, make up the chief characters.

A subtle and indefinable atmosphere of impending misfortune pervades the play from the very commencement; it is as much felt as expressed, and finds its justification in the tragic ending.

The events of Act I. take place at the Palace of Manoel de Souza at Almada, on the Tagus, opposite Lisbon. The first scene opens with a conversation between Magdalena and Telmo on the subject of Maria, who has now reached the age of thirteen. She is a delicate little thing, and day by day her parents see her slipping from them, but she is all unconscious of it. "See how very well I am" she cries once, when her hands and face are in a fever. She is gifted with wonderfully acute perceptions, for she "understands everything." She "hears from such a distance." She "reads the eyes and the stars in the sky too." Unlike other girls of her age, she spends hours poring over books and musing, or else listening

to Telmo's stories of King Sebastião who, by the popular prophecies, will return some misty day from the island where he lives. Not only are her faculties developed to an almost preternatural degree, but, in addition to this, the mysticism and fatalistic tendencies of the Portuguese people are strong within her. Hence Magdalena's anxiety, which she confides to Telmo, who has acquired such a hold on the child that "she neither listens to nor believes anything save what he tells her," and she is warning him not to talk to Maria on subjects that are beyond her age and sex, when he lets fall a remark that shows he does not believe in the death of Magdalena's first husband, despite every evidence to the contrary, and though twenty-one years had elapsed since Alcacer-Kibtrai. Telmo was, be it noted, rather a friend of the family than a servant, and, as such, had striven hard to prevent his mistress contracting a second marriage, because he felt sure all along that D. João de Portugal would return, for did he not send home a letter on the morn of the battle containing these words: "Alive or dead, Magdalena, I will see you at least once again in this world?" Alive he has not come, nor dead has his spirit, "for he would not depart without appearing also to his old attendant." Magdalena chides him sharply for ever calling up these terrifying visions, and then entreats him not to let her daughter come to credit the possibility of their realisation, and he promises silence, for Maria has so wound round his heart, that while he longs for the return of his old master, he fears it more for the sake of his darling child. This settled, Magdalena dispatches him to the Dominican Monastery, hard by, for Brother Jorge, and as he is leaving, Maria comes in to her mother. She has been taught by Telmo to believe in the escape of King Sebastião from the fatal field of Alcacer, and when her mother condemns as idle the popular fancy, she answers quickly, "The voice of the people is the voice of God, my lady mother." She cannot understand why no one in the house, save her Telmo, likes to hear speak of the King's return. Why is it? she half inquires; but Magdalena answers her question by another: "Why will you always ponder things so unfitting your age? It is that which troubles us, your father and me." They both loved her so anxiously! Presently Maria looks up at the portrait of her

father dressed as a Knight of Malta, and asks, "Why did he not stay in that holy religion?" which mortifies Magdalena, who replies, "Oh! child, child, because it was not God's will." As they are talking Brother Jorge enters and announces that the governors of Portugal have resolved to change their quarters to the Souza's palace, on account of the plague in Lisbon. Maria fires up at the news and would resist—she would like to see a battle; while her mother is indignant at the insult thus offered them. "Are there not other houses?" "Are they not aware there are ladies here, and a family?" she cries. Next appears Manoel, equally enraged at what he has just heard, and resolved to leave the house forthwith, after burning it down in order to save it being occupied by the Portuguese noblemen who govern in the name of Philip of Spain, and "to give a lesson to the slavish people that tolerates them." Magdalena and Jorge both exhort to prudence, but he is determined "the world shall know there is still a Portuguese in Portugal;" while, as for themselves, they must move to the house adjoining the Dominican Monastery of San' Paulo, which is now Magdalena's, and had belonged to her first husband. She, poor thing, is terrified at hearing this, and entreats Manoel to go to some fisherman's hut in the neighbourhood rather than to that house. She knows for certain she will die there, that she will not be there three days—nay, three hours—before all the calamities in the world descend upon her, but he refuses to listen to what he terms these childish fancies. A servant here interrupts them by coming to say that the Governors are approaching in haste, as though they had guessed Manoel's resolve. The latter loses no time, but, sending the household on in front, snatches two torches and sets fire to his palace with the words, "I am lighting up my house to receive the most Powerful and Excellent the Lord Governors of this Kingdom." Just at this moment Magdalena recollects her husband's portrait and tries to save it, but the flames are too quick for her, and compel them to seek safety in flight. So ends the First Act.

In Act II. the scene shifts to the palace of D. João de Portugal, also at Almada. Maria and Telmo are talking in the old drawing-room, "furnished in a sad, heavy taste," its walls covered with portraits, amongst which appear those of

King Sebastião, Camoens, and D. João de Portugal, while at the end of the room a door leads to a tribune overlooking the Church of San' Paulo. Maria is telling the old servant how her mother has not slept since they came to the house, for she cannot get the burning palace, the cries of the people, and the clanging of bells out of her thoughts; while the loss of the portrait seems a fatal warning of some other loss at hand, some misfortune that will separate her from Manoel. Maria has the same fears as her mother, and so has Telmo, but he tries to conceal them. All is not lost, he tells her, for Brother Jorge has succeeded in pacifying the Governors' resentment, seconded by the Archbishop of Lisbon, and in a few days Manoel, who has been in hiding since his destruction of his home, will be able to go about in safety. His words, however, fail to dispel the child's forebodings, and pointing to the picture of D. João de Portugal, she asks, "Whose is that likeness?" Telmo, remembering his promise to Magdalena, prevaricates, which only angers her and further excites her curiosity, and she then tells him of the shock her mother had when she caught sight of it on the night they arrived. Maria recognises the other two; one is King Sebastião, the other Camoens, "that friend of yours with whom you journeyed through India, the land of prodigies and great deeds;" to which Telmo adds, with a sigh:

Ah! my poor Luiz, they rewarded him well. He was a boy, younger than I, much younger and when I saw him last it was in the porch of San' Domingos in Lisbon. . . . I seem to be looking at him now so poorly dressed, so shrunken he who was once so quick, such a gallant now an old man! a broken-down old man! with that eye of his, that used to be worth two, so sunk and hollow that I said to myself, "The vile earth will eat you soon, thou body with the greatest soul Portugal has brought forth" . . . and I embraced him it was the last time. . . . He seemed to hear what my thoughts were saying within me, for he muttered, "Good-bye, Telmo! St. Elmo be with me at this end of my voyage for I am already in sight of land, my friend!" and he pointed to a grave that was being dug there. The friars were saying the Office for the Dead in the church, and he entered in and I went off. In a month's time they came here and said, "Luiz de Camoens has gone yonder in a winding-sheet to Sant' Anna." And no one talked of him again.

But Maria insists on knowing the name of the "other,"

"with that sad look, that thick black beard, his hand resting on his sword, as though he had no other support, no other love in life," and Telmo lets himself be surprised, ejaculating, "But he had, he had!" The child appears to understand, when all at once her father enters, and seeing her gaze at the portrait, says, "That is D. João de Portugal, an honoured nobleman and a brave knight." Maria, without noticing at first who is speaking to her, cries out: "My heart has been telling me so for certain." Manoel then proceeds to rebuke her for her readiness to find mysteries and marvels in the simplest things, when Jorge comes in and tells them all is arranged with the Governors, who are to look over his brother's act, and suggests that Manoel should accompany him to Lisbon for the purpose of thanking the Archbishop, to whom the result is mainly due, and Maria begs to go with them. Magdalena is terrified at first when she hears her husband is about to leave her again, even though he promises to return at nightfall, because the day is Friday, her unlucky day, and seeing her fright Jorge promises to keep her company; but even this does not allay her fear of "finding herself alone in the world," and she takes leave of Manoel as though "he were about to embark in a galleon for India." The general feeling that some misfortune is impending takes hold of even Jorge, to whom, when the others have set out, Magdalena confides the grounds for her dread of that particular day. It was the anniversary of her marriage to D. João de Portugal, of the death of King Sebastião, and of her meeting with Manoel. A servant announces that a pilgrim has arrived with a message to Magdalena, which he will give to none other, and the Palmer is ushered in.

Scene XVII.

MAGDALENA, JORGE, THE PALMER.

JORGE. Are you a Portuguese?

THE PALMER. With the best, I hope to God.

JORGE. And you come?

THE PALMER. From the Holy Sepulchre of Jesus Christ

JORGE. And have you visited all the Holy Places?

THE PALMER. I have not visited them ; I have lived there twenty long years.

MAGDALENA. You have led a holy life, good Palmer.

THE PALMER. Would I had ! I suffered much hunger, but not patiently. I was often maltreated, and did not always bear it with my eyes on Him who had suffered so much there for me. . . . I wanted to pray and meditate on the mysteries of the Sacred Passion that took place there and worldly passions, and the recollection of those who called themselves mine according to the flesh, took hold on my heart and mind, and would not let me be with God, even in that land which is all His. Oh ! I did not deserve to be where I was ; you see I knew not how to die there.

JORGE. It is well : God wished to bring you to the land of your fathers ; and, when it is His pleasure, you will die peacefully in the arms of your children.

THE PALMER. I have no children, father.

JORGE. In the bosom of your family, then

THE PALMER. My family I have no family now.

MAGDALENA. But there are always relations, friends

THE PALMER. Relations ! the nearest, those I should have found have already counted on my death and made themselves happy with it ; they will swear they do not know me.

MAGDALENA. Are there such bad people and so vile as to do that ?

THE PALMER. Necessity can do much God will pardon, if He can !

MAGDALENA. Do not make rash judgments, good Palmer.

THE PALMER. I do not Of my relations I now know more than I wish ; of friends, I have one ; I count on him.*

JORGE. You are not so unhappy, then ?

MAGDALENA. And if there is anything I can do for you, any help or shelter I can give you, count on me, good old man, and my husband, too, for he will rejoice to protect you

THE PALMER. Have I asked anything of you yet, lady ?

MAGDALENA. Pardon me, if I have offended you, friend.

THE PALMER. There is no such thing as a real offence, except such as are done against God. Ask pardon of Him ; you will not be without some reason for it.

MAGDALENA. No, brother, certainly not. And He will have compassion on me.

THE PALMER. He may

JORGE (*interrupting the conversation*). But you said, good old man, you had brought a message for this lady : give it now, for you must need to go and rest

THE PALMER (*smiling bitterly*). You wish to remind me that I am abusing the patience with which you have listened to me ? You do well,

* This is his old servant, Telmo.

father: I was forgetting perhaps I should have quite forgotten the message I came with I am so old and changed from what I once was!

MAGDALENA. Never mind, never mind, it does not matter; I like to hear you talk; you shall give me your message when you wish bye-and-bye, to-morrow

THE PALMER. To-day it must be. For the last three days I have neither slept, nor rested, nor laid down my head, nor stayed my steps, by day or by night, that I might reach here to-day and give you my message and then die though I were to die after it; for I swore a year ago this very day when I got my freedom, I took an oath on the Holy Stone of the Sepulchre of Christ

MAGDALENA. Were you then a captive in Jerusalem?

THE PALMER. I was; did I not tell you I lived there twenty years?

MAGDALENA. Yes, but

THE PALMER. My oath was that before a year had passed I would be in your presence and tell you from him who sent me

MAGDALENA (*terrified*). And who sent you, man?

THE PALMER. It was a man and an honourable man to whom alone I owed my liberty to *no one* else. I swore to do his will, and I have come.

MAGDALENA. What is his name?

THE PALMER. He never told his name nor that of his people to any one during his captivity.

MAGDALENA. But at any rate say

THE PALMER. I have his words written on my heart with the tears of blood I saw him weep, tears that often fell on these hands and ran down these very cheeks. None consoled him save I and God! Judge if I should forget his words.

JORGE. Have an end, man.

THE PALMER. I am finishing now; bear with me, for he too bore much. Here are his words; "Go to D. Magdalena de Vilhena and tell her a man who wished her well is alive here unfortunately for him and has not been able to get away nor to send her news of himself, during the twenty years since they brought him here a captive!"

MAGDALENA (*in the greatest anxiety*). God have pity on me! And this man, this man Jesus! this man was this man had been he was brought there from whence from Africa?

THE PALMER. From Africa.

MAGDALENA. A captive?

THE PALMER. Yes.

MAGDALENA. A Portuguese? captured in the battle of

THE PALMER. Alcacer-Kibir.

MAGDALENA (*overcome with terror*). My God, my God! Why does the ground not open under my feet? Why do not these walls fall and bury me here!

JORGE. Hold your peace, D. Magdalena, God's mercy is infinite; trust

still. I doubt, I cannot believe . . . this is not a matter to be lightly credited. (He reflects, and then as though an idea had suddenly occurred to him.) Oh! divine inspiration . . . (approaching the Palmer). You know this man well, Palmer, do you not?

THE PALMER. As I know myself.

JORGE. If you saw him . . . even though he were dressed differently . . . and younger . . . in a picture, let us say . . . would you know him?

THE PALMER. Just as though I saw myself in a mirror.

JORGE. Then look round on these portraits and say if any of them could be his.

THE PALMER (*without looking, points at once to the portrait of D. Joao*). That is he.

MAGDALENA (*with a terrible shriek*). My child, my child, my child! . . . (In a deep hollow tone). I am . . . you are . . . lost, dishonoured . . . defamed! (*with another cry from her heart*). Oh! my child, my child! . . . (*she flees, terror stricken, shrieking these words out*).

Scene XV.

JORGE, and THE PALMER, *who has followed Magdalena with his eyes, and stands erect in the middle of the room with a severe and terrifying aspect.*

JORGE. Palmer, Palmer! who are you!

THE PALMER (*pointing with his staff to the portrait of D. Joao de Portugal*). No one.

(*Brother JORGE falls prostrate on the floor, with extended arms, before the tribune. The curtain slowly falls.*)

Perhaps the most moving incident in this terribly powerful scene is its revelation of Magdalena's motherly love and self-effacement; her first thought on hearing D. João de Portugal lives is for Maria, not for her husband, and still less for herself.

The Third Act passes in another room of the same palace. Manoel and Jorge are together, the former prostrate with the awful discovery he had made on his return from Lisbon a few hours previously. Like Magdalena, his agony is for his child, who is dishonoured, and his own shame affects him infinitely less. The secret of the Palmer's identity is as yet known only to the two brothers, for Magdalena did not recognise him; she only learnt D. João de Portugal was living, while Maria knows nothing, though they both fear she may have guessed the truth. Manoel is half-crazy with grief; now he implores God

to take his daughter; now he realises the news will kill her when she hears it, and he offers his life to heaven for that of his child. The whole of this First Scene is most pathetic and masterly. Magdalena is overcome like her husband, and recognises, with him, that there is only one course open to them now—separation and the cloister. Jorge has arranged matters with the Archbishop and the Provincial, and husband and wife are to receive the Dominican habit at once. Telmo now comes in and acquaints Manoel and his brother of Maria's condition, and they go to see her, leaving Telmo alone. Then arises a fierce tumult in his breast. His beloved master is alive after all these years, during which he has longed for his advent, yet now he dreads it for the sake of his Maria; he had reared them both, but the love of this other child has conquered. As he is praying Heaven to spare her the Palmer appears. Telmo does not recognise him immediately; then he all at once says: "This voice—this voice! Palmer, who are you?" The truth burst upon him, and he cries out: "My child, oh, it is my child all over." After the first transports are past, D. João inquires if Magdalena was really faithful to him, if she did all she could to obtain news of him, and, when Telmo sets at rest his suspicions, he seems to relent, and enjoins on him to save her honour and give out that the Palmer was an impostor. This command tries Telmo's loyalty to the utmost, but he finally agrees, and D. João says, "Good-bye." "Until when, my lord?" asks the old servant. "Until the Day of Judgment," is the reply. Whilst they are still conversing, Magdalena comes outside the door, and thinking Manoel is within, entreats him in the most seductive language to open to her. The Palmer believes she is calling *him*. "'Tis she who calls me; Holy God, Magdalena calls for me;" but she continues, "My husband, my love, my Manoel." D. João has been worked up to such a pitch of passion by her words that his first impulse is to burst open the door, but he restrains himself and disappears. Meanwhile Magdalena has suffered a revulsion of feeling; she will not give "such a blind belief to the mysterious words of a Palmer, a vagabond, a man, in short, whom nobody knows," and in Scenes VII. and VIII. she exhausts herself in attempting to convince Manoel that their love is still possible. He, however, remains firm. Nothing

is left for them but these shrouds, he says, taking up the habit from the table, and the tomb of a cloister, and Jorge supports him. Magdalena has to yield, and husband and wife say good-bye for the last time in this world, while the notes of the “De Profundis,” chanted by the friars in the church, are borne in upon their ears and drown her last despairing appeal.

Scene X.

The curtain at the back rises and shows the Church of San’ Paulo, with the Friars seated in the choir. Standing at the High Altar is the PRIOR OF BEMFICA. Upon the Altar are two Dominican scapulars. MANOEL DE SOUSA is on his knees, dressed in the habit of a novice, to the right of the PRIOR. The ARCHBISHOP, with cappa-magna and mitre, sits on his throne, surrounded by his Chaplains in surplices. Shortly afterwards JORGE enters, accompanying MAGDALENA, who is also dressed as a novice, and goes and kneels down on the PRIOR’S left. The organ plays.

THE CHOIR. “Si iniquitates observaveris, Domine; Domine, quis sustinebit?”

THE PRIOR (*taking the scapulars off the altar*). Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, Brother Luiz de Sousa, since in all things you have wished to put off the old man and leave to the world the name you bore in it! Sister Magdalena! Both of you, who were noble persons in the world, and are here prostrate in the dust of the earth, in this humble habit of poor novices; for you have left all, even to leaving yourselves . . . children of Jesus Christ, and now of our father St. Dominic, receive with this blessed scapular

Scene XI.

The PRIOR OF BEMFICA, the ARCHBISHOP, MANOEL DE SOUSA, MAGDALENA, &c. MARIA enters hurriedly into the church in a state of complete alienation, her white garments are disordered and falling, her hair loose, her emaciated face inflamed by hectic spots, and her eyes frenzied; she stops for a moment, then recognising her parents, goes straight to them. There is general astonishment and the ceremony is interrupted.

MARIA. Father, father, mother, get up—come. (*She takes them by the hands, they obey mechanically, and come to the middle of the stage; a general confusion ensues.*)

MAGDALENA. Maria! my child!

MANOEL. Child, child! Oh, my child! (*Both at once embrace her.*)

MARIA (*separating with them from the rest and bringing them to the front of the stage.*) Wait. No one dies here without me. What do you want to do? What ceremony is this? What God is it on that altar who would rob a child of her father and mother? (*To the bystanders.*) Who are you, fatal

forms? Do you wish to tear them from my arms? This is my father, this is my mother. What do I care about that other? Whether he have died or not, be he with the dead or the living—be he still in the tomb or risen up again now to kill me? Let him kill me, let him kill me, if he will; but leave me this father, this mother, for they are mine. Is it not like coming into the midst of a family and saying, "You are not husband and wife? And this child of your love, this child brought up with such affection, such tenderness, this child is Mother, mother, I knew it well I never said it to you, but I knew it; that terrible angel, who appeared every night to prevent my sleeping, had told me that angel, who descended with a fiery sword in his hand, and thrust it between me and you, who tore me from your arms when I slumbered there who made me weep when father came to kiss me at your breast. Mother, mother, you shall not die without me. Father, give me here a piece of your shroud give it me, I want to die before he comes. (*Rolling herself round in her father's habit.*) I want to hide me here before this man from the other world comes, and says in my face and yours, here before all these people, "This child is the child of crime and sin!" I am not; speak, father—I am not tell all these people, say I am not. (*She goes towards MAGDALENA.*) Poor mother, you cannot poor thing! you have not the courage you never lied. But lie now to save the honour of your child, that she may not be deprived of her father's name.

MAGDALENA. Pity, my God!

MARIA. You will not! You, too, father? They will not. And I must die thus. And he comes there.

Scene XII.

MARIA, MAGDALENA, MANOEL, the PALMER and TELMO appearing at the back of the stage from behind the high altar.

THE PALMER (*to TELMO*). Go, go: see if there is yet time: save them, for you can yet. (*TELMO takes some steps forward.*)

MARIA (*pointing to THE PALMER*). It is that voice. 'Tis he, 'tis he. There is no time now. Mother, father, cover my face well, for I die of shame. (*She hides her face in her mother's breast.*) I am dying, I am dying of shame. (*She falls dead on the ground.*) MANOEL DE SOUSA and MAGDALENA prostrate themselves by their daughter's corpse.)

MANOEL (*after some time raises himself on his knees*). My sister, let us pray for the soul let us commend our souls to this angel whom God has taken unto Himself. Father Prior, can you put on my scapular here?

THE PRIOR (*going to fetch the scapulars from the high altar and returning*). My brethren, God afflicts in this world those He loves. The crown of glory is given only in Heaven.

(*The organ plays; the curtain falls.*)

It will be observed that the story of Manoel de Sousa is simple, like that of Inez de Castro, and the action of the play as free from complications as the historical facts on which it is based ; this forms the secret of Garrett's success. The episodes are full of power, the language Portuguese of the best. Though there are many points that deserve consideration, want of space compels me to leave criticism to my readers. The character of Maria, however, is so liable to be misunderstood that one remark thereon may well be permitted. It must not be supposed that she is like the hysterical young miss of the modern novel ; far from it ; and she has nothing in common with the neurotics of to-day. Like Telmo, she forms but a type of that prophetic and visionary section of the Portuguese people that looked for the return of King Sebastião as the Messiah of the fatherland, nourished itself on the " Trovas " of Bandarra, and took refuge in mysticism to escape the crushing influence of Spain. Again, to the public of our day, with its disregard for, or ignorance of, the sanctity of the marriage tie, much of the play may perchance appear exaggerated and unreal, while the Third Act, which displays the slow mental tortures of Manoel de Sousa and his wife, and closes with the death of Maria, could hardly be understood by a nineteenth-century English audience, to most of whom the life of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Portugal, at once religious and idealistic, must needs be a sealed book, or at least something for which they can feel but small sympathy. On the other hand, it is just this old Catholic atmosphere, so marvellously reproduced, together with the national stamp of the play, that should prove of the highest interest to the real student of literature, and more especially to a member of the Household of Faith, whose beliefs put him in touch with a state of society that has passed away.

EDGAR PRESTAGE.

ART. V.—EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

1. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius.* Von ADOLF HARNACK. Erster Theil: Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand. Bearbeitet unter Mitwirkung von Lic. Erwin Preuschen. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1893. (Pp. lxi. and 1021.)
2. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten.* Von GUSTAV KRÜGER. Freiburg und Leipzig: Mohr (*Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*). 1895. (Pp. xxii. and 254.)
3. *Patrologie.* Von OTTO BARDENHEWER. Freiburg: Herder (*Theologische Bibliothek*). 1894. (Pp. x. and 635.)
4. *Die altchristliche Litteratur und ihre Erforschung seit 1880.* Von ALBERT EHRHARD. Allgemeine Uebersicht und erster Literaturbericht (1880–1884). Freiburg: Herder (*Strassburger theologische Studien*). 1894. (Pp. xix. and 239.)

THE four works named at the head of this article are one and all of a highly technical character, and likely to appeal in England to only a small, though increasing, circle of specialists. And yet the subject-matter with which they are concerned embraces study of enthralling interest and of highest religious importance—an importance ever growing for us of the present generation, and likely to become for the next generation more pressing than that of any other group of questions merely speculative in character. Perhaps the best way of introducing the remarks we have to make on the study of Ante-Nicene Christian literature will be to give some account of these four books. And it is well to state at once that the purpose of this paper is not to subject them to what is commonly understood by the term “criticism.” There will be no attempt to point out the shortcomings and faults that are sure to occur in any book of the kind. The motive is positive; it is to direct attention to the mass of valuable matter they all contain, and to the fields of thought and inquiry they open out.

1. The *History of Old Christian Literature up to Eusebius* by Drs. Harnack and Preuschen originated in the following manner. Some thirty years ago the Vienna Academy undertook the publication of a *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, to consist of critical editions of works of Latin Fathers of the first six or seven centuries, edited by eminent scholars with all the care and elaboration that characterises the best work of the day. Men of the highest competence, as Reifferscheid and Zangemeister, were commissioned to examine and report on the Latin patristic manuscripts of the libraries of Europe; the second of the above named scholars thus visiting the English public and private libraries, and producing a full and most valuable report on the manuscripts of the Latin Fathers which they contain. No time or trouble was spared; and the thirty volumes that have so far appeared are unquestionably the standard texts of the several works. Perhaps Hartel's *Cyprian* is the best known and the most remarkable of the series up to the present time. The Berlin Academy, doubtless in a spirit of healthy rivalry, determined in the year 1891 to undertake a series of similar editions of the early Greek Fathers. Professor Harnack represented to the Academy how desirable it was that, as a preliminary step, a catalogue of the remains of early Christian literature, outside the Canon of the New Testament—lists of authors and writings and fragments, of references and quotations by later writers, of the known manuscripts of each work, of early translations, &c.—should be prepared in so far as might be possible without instituting fresh researches in the libraries; so that the work should aim at representing as fully as possible the state of knowledge on these and such like points at the date of publication (July, 1893). Dr. Harnack asked for a collaborator, and suggested Dr. Preuschen of Giessen, a former pupil of his own, and though quite a young man, one who had already made his mark in the learned world. This suggestion was approved of; and as a matter of fact, a very considerable portion of the work, including some of the most difficult sections (as the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, the pseudo-Clementines, Origen and most of the Alexandrian writers, Irenæus, Tertullian, &c.), fell to Dr. Preuschen's share.

This book unquestionably belongs to the class styled monumental; for though it will be supplemented, and no doubt in places amended, still it will not be superseded; for the work has been done once for all, and is a possession for ever. Therefore it is right that an accurate idea of its character should be given by taking one or two prominent names as typical specimens, and briefly analysing the contents and structure of the articles devoted to them. Let the first be St. Clement of Rome. Article 31 (pp. 39–47) deals with the Epistle to the Corinthians, of course held to be genuine. One page is devoted to an enumeration of the manuscripts and versions, with references to the works containing the best discussions thereon; next follow the *testimonia*, or the full text of the passages of later writers in which the Epistle is either quoted or alluded to:—Hegesippus, Dionysius of Corinth, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ephrem, Basil, Epiphanius, Jerome, and others, ending with Photius. These *testimonia* occupy six pages. Lastly the *editio princeps* and the two or three best modern editions are mentioned. The second Epistle comes next, but in a separate article (pp. 47–49), for it is the commonly received opinion that it is by another author, though of the second century. The pseudo-Clementine romance is treated of at a later place (pp. 212–231), the information concerning the manuscripts of the Recognitions being supplied by Mr. Richardson, an American scholar, who is preparing an edition; as regards the question of the date of these romances, it is said that the materials for forming a judgment are not yet to hand—a caution that stands in marked contrast to the controversial certainties on the subject to which we have been treated in England during the past two or three years. The Letters on Virginity are declared to belong to the third century (pp. 518, 519). A number of notes on other spurious works and fragments that used once upon a time to circulate under Clement's name are given on pp. 777–780; and in the Index of Authors and Writings, under the heading “Clemens Romanus,” no fewer than twenty-six such spuria are entered, with references to thirty-five distinct places in this book where they are severally dealt with. This will give some notion of the thoroughness and detail with which the work has been done.

Let another specimen be Dr. Preuschen's long article on Origen (pp. 332-405). First come the various early lists of Origen's works; next two sections on Origen's biblical work in general and on the Hexapla; then the commentaries are catalogued, each book of the Bible being taken in order, and every homily individually noted, title, *incipit* and *explicit* being given, in Greek when it has come down to us, in Latin when only the translation is known; every fragment also is similarly entered, and the place mentioned where it has been preserved. This occupies thirty-three pages. The other works are then in a similar fashion gone through in twelve pages more, and a list is given of those that are lost. The catalogue of known manuscripts of each work, amounting to some five hundred in all, occupies another twelve pages; and last of all comes a list of the places in the various *catenæ* where fragments of Origen are to be found. And so the seventy pages are filled up; for, as explained in the preface, to have printed the *testimonia* of later writers, in Origen's case, would have extended the article beyond all reasonable bounds.

This account of the treatment of Clement of Rome and Origen will suffice to give an idea of the character of the work, and to show how technical, yet how useful, nay, how essential, it is to any one engaged in serious studies on the period it covers. For in it we have duly catalogued every Christian writer of the first three centuries, with such information as is available concerning all their works, both extant and lost; every smallest anonymous tract and fragment that has come down to us from the period; every manuscript of all these works entered in any printed catalogue or mentioned in early editions (fifty manuscripts of Origen's works used by the De la Rues cannot now be traced); and in nearly all cases the *testimonia*, or allusions, up to about the tenth century, and sometimes even later. There is no attempt at a bibliography, either of editions or of works and studies on the subject-matter of the various writings; but there are classified lists of the whole Ante-Nicene literature arranged in natural groups, lists of spurious and later works wrongly attributed to the early period, of Jewish literature adopted and sometimes modified by the early Christians, of acts of martyrs and edicts of the civil authorities, and of translations of early Christian

writings from Greek into Latin, Syriac, Slavonic, and Coptic—the list of Armenian translations was not ready in time, but appears separately as a volume of the *Texte und Untersuchungen*—and last, but not least, elaborate indexes of all kinds are added.

The mere labour implied in the accumulation of this enormous mass of minute facts, to say nothing of their arrangement and compression into a thousand pages, is something colossal; and when we remember that this digest was prepared by two men in two years we are filled with wonder. And so, though it be a collection of the driest of dry bones, the grand scale on which the work was conceived, the conscientious completeness with which it has been executed, the grasp of detail and broad sweep of the period, the patience and perseverance in laborious toil which it bespeaks in the compilers, appeal even to the imagination and fires the enthusiasm of any one with a soul for work of the kind. It is certainly one of the most remarkable monuments of the learning of the day, and a legacy to which for many a long year all students of the first ages of Christianity will be deeply indebted.

Only a year after the publication of the *Geschichte*, Professor Harnack brought out in the *Texte und Untersuchungen* a supplementary volume containing a number of corrections and omissions, but made up for the most part of the year's record of fresh research and achievement.

The work is the first part of a *History of Old Christian Literature* which Professor Harnack has had in preparation for some years.

2. If we say that Dr. Krüger's *History of Old Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries* is in a way a popularisation of the great work just described, we must not be understood as meaning that it is light reading, or that it is a book for people who want a bird's-eye view of early Christian literature, or information "ready-made" on special points. Far from it; this book is almost as technical and unreadable as the other, and is, like it, essentially a reference book. But it is a handbook, containing only 250 pages and costing only five shillings. Nor is it a mere abridgment, but it is constructed on different lines, and is a most useful supplement to the other. There are no lists of manuscripts nor *testimonia*; but the

bibliography of editions and, still more, of works and studies and articles on Ante-Nicene writings and problems, is much more full. So that what was meant in saying this book is a popularisation of Harnack-Preuschen, was that it is intended to help students interested in obtaining a sound knowledge of the early period, rather than scholars engaged in original research. In brief, it enables one easily to ascertain all the best editions and all the best original work in any department of the period, that had been produced up to the end of the year 1894. The state of the chief questions, and the results considered fairly sure are summarised, but in the baldest way ; for the object is not to supply information of this kind, but merely to tell the student where it may be found. Thus, there are most useful lists of the chief collections, serials, periodicals, and reference books in which Ante-Nicene matters are commonly treated of, and a table showing the probable date and country of the Ante-Nicene writers and chief anonymous writings, though some points in this table would not command common assent.

3. It is with special pleasure that we welcome Dr. Bardenhewer's *Patrologie*, not only because it is a work by a Catholic of the same scientific and laboriously painstaking character as those already described ; but, and still more, because it is an earnest of the fact that in Germany some Catholics are keeping pace with the patristic studies of the day, and are alive to the inconveniences and dangers of allowing the ground to be occupied exclusively by Protestants and Rationalists. Dr. Bardenhewer is professor of theology at the University of Munich, and his work forms one of the volumes of Mr. Herder's well-known and excellent *Theologische Bibliothek*. It is a much larger book than Dr. Krüger's, as it embraces a longer period, to St. John Damascene in the East and SS. Gregory the Great and Isidore of Seville in the West ; but even the 200 pages devoted to the Ante-Nicene period contain more matter than Dr. Krüger's book. The bibliography both of editions and of studies and articles is fuller here ; but the same care does not appear in selecting only what is best. More is told of the lives of the writers and of the literary and doctrinal character of their works, and in some cases a page or two is devoted to an exposition of their teaching on important points. But all

such information is given with the utmost brevity ; for Bardenhewer, like Krüger, aims at helping, not the general reader, but the serious student, who wants only a guide to all the good work done up to the end of 1894 on any given patristic subject. Bardenhewer's *Patrologie* does not put out of date Alzog's, also in the same series, a fourth edition of which was published in 1888 ; for the older work gives a body of valuable information of a kind not attempted in the newer. We are much impressed with the excellence of Dr. Bardenhewer's book, and with the skill and discretion with which so immense a body of matter has been digested ; and we can recommend it with the utmost confidence to all desirous of keeping in touch with the great patristic movement of the day.*

4. Dr. Ehrhard also is a Catholic and professor of Church history at the University of Würzburg. Although dealing with the same subject-matter, and having the same general object in view, the specific purpose of his book and the method of treatment differentiate it completely from the other three. His idea is to confine himself to the early patristic work done since 1880, and to give an account of the course of these studies since that date, aiming at completeness in the bibliography, so that a great number of articles and books are given in Ehrhard which are not to be found in Bardenhewer or Krüger. He fixes 1880 as the point of departure, because the great storehouses of information on these subjects bring things pretty well up to that date ; but it seems a pity he did not begin a little earlier, for the first volumes of Herzog-Plitt and the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* appeared in 1877. Dr. Ehrhard's first volume, now before us, contains a rapid sketch of the course and progress of patristic studies on the first six centuries during the past fourteen years, and then a detailed account of the work done between 1880 and 1884. The next volume will give the continuation up to 1894, and the author hopes to publish a supplementary volume every two or three years, and thus keep pace with the movement of the times. Though very technical and little more than a reference

* It may be good to note that this valuable piece of Catholic scholarship, consisting of some 650 pages, can be procured for the very moderate sum of eight shillings.

book, it is not so severely scientific as the others, being something more than a string of disjointed notes and references; indeed to any one at all conversant with the subject it will prove interesting reading, and when the work has been brought up to date, it will be invaluable to all engaged in early Christian studies.

To sum up; these four works, though treating of the same subjects and bearing a strong general resemblance, are all in reality different in scheme and object, and are supplementary to one another, each giving a great body of information proper to itself. But the student who is equipped with all four, may be assured that if he knows how to use them, he can with a minimum expenditure of time, work up any given problem of the Ante-Nicene period with whatever degree of thoroughness he may desire, and easily ascertain what is the best material on the subject, old and new, and put himself abreast of the state of knowledge only twelve months ago. The appearance of four such books within a year and a half, and all in Germany, is a very remarkable sign of the times, as proving the wide-spread interest taken in these obscure and difficult studies among German speaking men of letters. And indeed one of the most striking phenomena in the intellectual world during the past thirty or forty years has been the extraordinary activity and enthusiasm with which the scanty remains of the early Christian Ages have been studied and investigated. Germany took the lead in the movement, and it is there that the greatest activity is still displayed. The reviews, periodicals, series, and other publications devoted to scientific and highly technical discussions on such subjects, in which no light articles ever find a place to relieve the abstruse and dry character of the contents, may be counted almost by the dozen. The Universities and learned societies have their organs; leading scholars have their own reviews or series; nay, the annual "Programme" of a school is often weighted with a dissertation wherein one of the masters investigates, often with a profound learning, some minute point of Christian antiquity or literature. If any discovery is made, any old and long lost document brought to light, as in the case of the *Didachè*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, some twelve years ago, then all at once the intellectual market of Germany is

flooded with articles, studies, criticisms of all kinds, appearing in all this array of periodical literature and in pamphlets innumerable, discussing from every side the date, country, authorship, sources, and text of the new discovery, its doctrines, tendencies, and relations to other documents; nay, the most delicate minutiae of grammar, diction, and idiom are investigated with infinite care, and often with conspicuous success, to see what light linguistic considerations can throw on the questions under debate. Much of this of course proves merely ephemeral and does not live; still it all helps—even in the long run the blunders and mistakes—to the elucidation of the truth. And when a number of men of conspicuous ability, of trained intellect, of wide and accurate learning, of untiring patience, and of boundless devotion to the subject, thus throw themselves into the lists, it is needless to say that much of highest value is sure to be elicited, and that the facts of the case will in time emerge from the general discussion; while it all illustrates the point here insisted upon—viz., the extraordinary interest such topics awaken in Germany and how general that interest must be. For we must suppose that all these numerous periodical and serial publications, to say nothing of new editions and substantive works and pamphlets, have a sufficient circulation to pay their way, and that the steady enormous output is a true indication of a constant demand.

There seems to be no exaggeration in the statement that three-fourths of the total work of this kind done throughout the world is German. At the beginning of Dr. Krüger's book is a list of those works and periodicals which will be so frequently referred to that it is necessary to have recognised abbreviations for their titles. Omitting works more than thirty years old, the list contains forty of German origin, mostly periodicals; against this there are two English works (the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*), two French (the *Revue des Questions Historiques* and Pitra's *Analecta*), one American (Richardson's *Synopsis*), and a Dutch periodical. Some time ago the present writer drew up a list towards the formation of an Ante-Nicene library, the aim being to include the most useful editions of each author, and the best works and studies, but not mere articles, on all the problems and questions that meet us in the first three and a half

centuries. On looking through the list, it is seen that German names are in an overwhelming majority in each department of the subject. And on turning to any article on Ante-Nicene questions, it will almost always turn out that the chief authorities referred to are German. Of course, good and excellent work has been and is being done in other countries. In his Preface, Harnack mentions by name thirteen scholars of the present generation to whom the compilers of the *Geschichte* have been especially beholden: of these, four are English (Lightfoot, Hort, Hatch, and Salmon), three are French (Pitra, Duchesne, and Tixeront), one is a Swede (Caspari), and only five are German (Lipsius, de Lagarde, Hartel, Hilgenfeld, and Zahn). But without any doubt by far the greater quantity of work, and of the best work, comes from Germany, and these studies are there pursued with an ardour unknown elsewhere.

Turning our gaze homewards, it is a strange and a humiliating fact that there is not a single English periodical devoted to scientific patristic work on the first six centuries; nor even one in which a lengthy piece of elaborate analysis, or technical investigation, or textual criticism, or original research, on such subjects can find a natural home. Dr. Salmon's *Critical Review*, useful and able though it is, does not aim at original research; the *Expositor* at times contains articles of the kind we have in view, provided the subject is at least semi-biblical; the *Classical Review*, the *Journal of Philology*, and the Dublin University *Hermathena* are open to short studies of a special class, often of conspicuous ability. But though individual articles from these periodicals are here and there referred to in the four books that have suggested this paper, not one of them is mentioned in the lists of frequently recurring sources given by Krüger and Ehrhard. The Oxford *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* contains excellent work of the kind desiderated, the pity is that we get so little of it—only three volumes in some ten years. The Cambridge *Texts and Studies* alone represents among us such well-known series as Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, or Zöckler's *Biblische und Kirchenhistorische Studien*, and is the only English serial publication that figures in Krüger's list. We have in England a *Jewish Quarterly*, edited by Mr. Claude Montefiore, containing articles conspicuous for erudition, research, and

critical power, but of course confined to points of Jewish religion, philosophy, literature, and antiquities. It is strange that there is no Christian periodical of the same type in England, as if there were a great apathy in regard of higher ecclesiastical studies, and no public to which such an undertaking would appeal.

We cannot help thinking that this is really to be lamented. For no one who has even a slight acquaintance with the course of investigation in these subjects for the last fifty years, can fail to be impressed with the vast and all-important interests which are in fact (though to the superficial eye not so apparently) involved in these endless and minute discussions. And is it not the case that each nation has its own contribution to make towards the advance of learning and the ascertaining of the truth? If the German has an unrivalled power of sustained work, and an infinite patience in investigating the minutest details of a subject, hunting out every atom of evidence from the remotest nooks and corners all round, and marshalling them all with a fulness that too often becomes wearisome and even embarrassing; has not the Englishman that robust "good sense," so highly and so justly valued by the great Dutch classical scholar, Cobet, and coupled by him with French "good taste?" And, as a matter of fact, when an Englishman does devote himself to these studies with the same zeal and thoroughness which characterise the typical German scholar, his work is recognised everywhere, and nowhere more generously than in Germany, as being of the highest order. Bishop Lightfoot is the only Englishman in our day who has done work of the kind on a large scale outside the sphere of the Bible; and Harnack, than whom no more competent judge lives, does not hesitate to declare that his edition of St. Ignatius is the best edition of a Father of the Church that exists;* and Mommsen, if we mistake not, has paid it a similar tribute. There are not many Lightfoots in England, nor in Germany; still the conspicuous success he achieved in this sphere of work was due in no slight measure to the national type of mind, and shows that when an Englishman does throw himself loyally into it, he may hope to do good work, and work stamped with a

* Harnack-Preuschen, *Geschichte*, p. 86: "die beste Ausgabe die wir überhaupt für einen Kirchenvater besitzen."

character all its own, that will differentiate it from that of other nationalities, and make it a very real contribution to the cause of learning and of truth. And therefore it is with pleasure that we notice in England the beginnings of an awakening interest, especially among a school of Cambridge men of the younger generation—Rendel Harris, Armitage Robinson, Montague James, and others—which has already produced much excellent work that takes its place alongside of the best products of continental scholarship; a movement due, no doubt, to the influence and inspiration of Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort.

But, it may be asked, what is the good of it all? Has anything come out of all this expenditure of energy and time, except a vast quantity of theorising, of which the average Englishman is so impatient? Well, to begin with what is the least, a great number of early Christian documents of the highest interest and importance, previously regarded as lost, have been recovered in our day by the labours of the plodding workers in these fields. To confine ourselves to documents of the first two centuries, and to items of some magnitude, the following list may be given of discoveries made during the past twenty years: the approximate dates are attached.

(1) A considerable portion of St. Clement's Epistle, filling up the *lacunæ* that existed until 1875; (c. A.D. 100).

(2) The Didachè, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles; (c. 100–150).

(3) The Apocalypse of Peter—a considerable fragment; (c. 100–150).

(4) The Gospel of Peter—a considerable portion; (c. 100–150).

(5) The second half of the so-called Second Epistle of St. Clement; (c. 120–160).

(6) The Apology of Aristides; (c. 140–160).

(7) The Diatesseron of Tatian; (c. 160–180).

(8) The Apology and Acts of Apollonius the Martyr; (c. 180–190).

(9) The Acts of Paul and Thecla—an early, perhaps almost the original, form; (c. 150–200).

(10) The Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs—in the original form, and shown to date from 180.

(11) The old Roman Baptismal Creed used in the fourth century—now recognised as dating from, at any rate, the middle of the second.

Considering that outside the New Testament hardly more than two dozen complete Christian works of the first two centuries are even now in our possession, it will be seen what a notable accession to our materials for the period has been made in the past twenty years. A few notes on the nature and circumstances of these new additions may be of interest.

(1) Until twenty years ago the [First] Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians was known in only a single Greek manuscript, the Alexandrian, of the fifth century, now at the British Museum. Besides a number of trifling lacunæ, a leaf is wanting, containing Chapters 58 to 64, just one-tenth of the whole epistle. But in 1875 a second Greek manuscript was discovered at Constantinople, containing the full text; and in the following year the Cambridge University Library acquired a manuscript containing a Syriac version of the entire Epistle. Thus Bishop Lightfoot had for his final edition (1890) not only a second Greek manuscript but also a version, to control the text of the Alexandrian and to fill up the lacunæ. And since that date yet another and still more unexpected authority for the complete text has come to light, in the shape of a very early Latin translation, found by Dom Morin in the Library of the Seminary at Namur; this he edited in Volume II. of his *Anecdota Maredsolana* (1894). When it is said that critics of the standing of Harnack are disposed to attribute this translation in its original shape to the second century, the great importance of the discovery is evident. We do not know that it has yet been utilised for a critical revision of the Greek text; but without doubt it will necessitate several alterations even in Bishop Lightfoot's last edition. The present writer has carefully gone through the first forty-four chapters, entering the readings of the Latin everywhere in Lightfoot's critical apparatus; and the impression made was that the Latin version represents a very good Greek text, probably the next best after that of the Alexandrian manuscript. Bishop Lightfoot's general principle was that the Alexandrian manuscript outweighs the united authority of the Constantinopolitan and the Syriac; when, as usually happens,

the Latin supports the Alexandrian, it is decisive; but in the cases where it throws its weight on the other side, one can hardly think that the veteran scholar, were he now alive, would still adhere to the readings of the Alexandrian against the other three manuscripts, and in the cases where such a combination occurs as the Latin and Syriac against the two Greek manuscripts, certainly a reconsideration of his verdicts is called for in the light of the new evidence. So much has been said to show the importance of the three new discoveries towards ascertaining the genuine text of this, perhaps the very earliest Christian non-canonical writing. As regards its matter, the newly recovered portion is of exceptional interest; for it contains a remarkable trinitarian passage, quoted by St. Basil, but previously regarded in various quarters as being not from the genuine epistle, but from one of the many spurious Clementines; also a long and sublime prayer, couched in majestic and eloquent language, and generally looked upon as having been inspired by the liturgical practice of the Roman Church, and therefore the oldest piece of Christian liturgy that has come down to us.

(2) The *Didachè* contains the earliest known form of the collections of canons and regulations which culminated in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and formed the nucleus of the canon law. In it are Eucharistic formulæ, and information about primitive Christian life and Church organisation, the earliest to be found outside of the New Testament. Most critics place this work about A.D. 100; about 150 is the latest limit. It was found in the same Greek manuscript which contained the new copy of St. Clement's Epistle.

(3) and (4) were discovered together in a grave at Akhmin in Egypt in 1892, and are in the original Greek. The gospel fragment gives the history of the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord. These are the only considerable surviving representatives of two whole classes of apocryphal literature very popular in the second and third centuries, but now almost entirely lost; of their fellows only a few detached fragments have come down to us, for the apocryphal gospels and apocalypses printed by Tischendorf are later recasts or revisions.

(5) The story of the completion of the early Homily known as the *Second Epistle of St. Clement*, is the same as in the

case of the genuine Epistle, except that no ancient Latin version has yet been found.

(6) This discovery has an especial interest for us, as being wholly due to two English scholars, Professors Rendel Harris and Armitage Robinson. The former found a Syriac translation of Aristides' "Apology" in one of the monasteries on Mount Athos; and by means of this translation the latter recognised the "Apology" as being embedded in the form of a speech in the popular romance of "Barlaam and Josaphat," attributed to St. John Damascene, but very likely older than his time. By this happy identification the original Greek has been substantially recovered, or rather has been recognised as not being an oratorical effort of the sixth or seventh century, but one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of extant Christian Apologies. The genuineness has been commonly accepted; but a discordant voice has lately been raised. (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, xii. 2, 1894.)

(7) Tatian's "Diatesseron," the very existence of which was doubted twenty years ago in spite of the statements of ancient writers, has been recovered in substance. It is needless to say much about it here, for only last August Professor Rendel Harris gave an account of it in the *Contemporary Review*. It is a gospel harmony, and even though it has been revised—"Catholicised," says Harnack—and individual texts brought into harmony with the *textus receptus* of the Gospels, still there is no reasonable doubt that the structure of the original work has been preserved in the Arabic translation, showing that our four Gospels were already "The Four Gospels" in the middle of the second century.

(8) and (9) were printed in Armenian by the Mechitarists of Venice in 1874, but lay unnoticed until Mr. Conybeare, an Oxford scholar, published English translations of them in his *Monuments of Early Christianity* (1894). The genuineness of the Apology and Acts of Apollonius has been recognised on all hands; and the Armenian version of *Paul and Thecla* seems to be the earliest and best form in which that famous apocryphal work of the [first or] second century has come down to us, even if Mr. Conybeare be mistaken in his contention that it has preserved the original form.

(10) and (11) are not new discoveries, but their genuine

form has been more accurately ascertained by recent researches ; and they have been shown to belong to the second century instead of the third—the Scillitan Acts to A.D. 180, the old Symbol to the middle or first half of that century.

And this extraordinary material increase is not the only advance made in the past twenty years in the right understanding of early Christian literature. Ten years ago Bishop Lightfoot wrote : “The destructive criticism of the past half century is, I think, fast spending its force” ; * and we are now able to see how correctly he read the signs of the times. For whereas some fifty, or even twenty years ago, it was the fashion to declare nearly all the early documents spurious, and place them towards the end of the second century or later ; now the tendency of the dominant and most representative rationalistic schools of Germany is distinctly conservative in its recognition of the authenticity and early dates of such documents.. Baron Friedrich von Hügel has illustrated this change in the case of the New Testament writings, in the first and third of the remarkable essays on “The Church and the Bible,” which he has recently contributed to the DUBLIN REVIEW ; and Dr. Krüger’s Table exhibiting the dates of Ante-Nicene writers and writings quite bears out what was there said, for he enters the three Synoptic Gospels merely as “after A.D. 70,” but evidently well before the end of the century ; and St. John’s Gospel and Epistles are put down “about A.D. 100.” It is well to emphasise the fact that Dr. Krüger is in the full current of the most advanced critical speculation of the day, with no orthodox proclivities whatever, and that therefore his Table may be taken as representing the opinions now commonly held in such circles. To illustrate this tendency in the case of extra-canonical writings, we shall compare Krüger’s dates with those given in the work entitled *Supernatural Religion*, which embodied the views of the old Tübingen school, all powerful in Germany not so many years ago :

			Sup. Rel.		Krüger.
I. Clement	.	.	120-125	...	c. 100
II. Clement	.	.	200-250	...	100-150
Barnabas .	.	.	120-170	...	75-100
Hermas .	.	.	c. 150	...	c. 100

* *Ignatius and Polycarp*, Preface.

		Sup. Rel.		Krüger.
Diognetus	. .	{ c. 400 ; perhaps a fifteenth cen- tury forgery.	...	Second century, and very likely the early part of it. (Third cen- tury, Harnack.)
Ignatius . . .		{ Forgeries		{ Genuine
Polycarp . . .		{ c. 200	...	{ 105-117 (Lightfoot), 130-140 (Harnack).

The author of *Supernatural Religion* pronounced the whole Ignatian literature, along with the Epistle of Polycarp and the Epistle of the Smyrnæans, describing his martyrdom, "a mass of falsification, interpolation, and fraud," so much so that "the Ignatian Epistle cannot in any form be considered evidence on any important point."* But now, thanks mainly to Bishop Lightfoot's labours, Harnack is able to say that in his treatment of the Ignatian question he starts from "proved facts," the first of which is that the seven Greek epistles of the recension known as the Vossian are "original and genuine," † the Epistle of Polycarp is also recognised as genuine; while of the Epistle describing Polycarp's martyrdom, Krüger says that "neither form nor matter afford any solid grounds for supposing it to be spurious or interpolated." ‡ The practical settlement of the long standing controversy on these documents, and their general acceptance as genuine, so that they are now used on all hands without hesitation, without need of discussion or apology, is in effect equivalent to a new discovery, surpassing in importance most of those already mentioned. This new possession is due to the sound learning, the patient toil, and the robust common sense of the great English scholar Lightfoot, and is England's chief contribution to the advancement of early Christian studies. The recognition of this group of Ignatian literature and of the First Clementine Epistle as genuine, and the evident tendency to attribute II. Clement, Barnabas, Hermas, and the Epistle to Diognetus to much earlier dates than was usual a generation ago, unquestionably mark a great and important change in the attitude of the learned world, brought about during the past twenty years.

And, what is of far greater importance, the indefatigable study and analysis of the documents themselves have led to a

* Vol. i. p. 264.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

fuller and more accurate appreciation of their contents, and thereby to a better understanding of the problems raised by the records of the first Christian ages. In particular, the early heretics and heresies, and the books written against them, have been an object of close study, whereby much light has been thrown upon the history of dogma; apocryphal literature, too—gospels, apocalypses and Acts of the Apostles, written in the second, third and fourth centuries—has been laboriously worked at, and has been made to yield much useful information as to the beliefs and practices of the time. While fully recognising that these new accessions to our knowledge have created some difficulties, and call for readjustments in some old positions, we must, on the other hand, point out that they have brought out into clearer historical light certain fundamental Catholic tenets. Baron von Hügel, in the articles already referred to, has shown how rationalists, such as B. Weiss and Holtzmann, recognise the primacy conferred upon St. Peter by the petrine texts;* Dr. Joseph Gasquet, also in this REVIEW, has shown how recent investigations on the Canon of the New Testament have led such writers as Reuss, Zahn, and Harnack to the Catholic position that the Canon was determined by and received on the authority of the Church;† and the present writer had occasion in two articles to notice incidentally Harnack's conclusions on the unique position of the Roman Church already in the beginning of the second century.‡ These are but a few instances, out of many, to illustrate the importance and the character of the movement that is going on around us. The purpose and tone of the best critical scholarship of the day, if not more positively Christian than before, have at any rate ceased to be polemical. Contemporary rationalist research is not conducted, on the whole, as a direct attack on traditional Christianity; it partakes much more, at any rate as exemplified in its leading representatives, of the nature of an honest endeavour to ascertain the truth. Of course a Protestant cannot look at things as a Catholic, nor a Unitarian as a more orthodox Protestant; and it is possible to disagree altogether from many a man's views

* DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1894.

† *Ibid.* April, 1893.

‡ *Ibid.* July and October, 1893.

and conclusions, and yet to believe in his entire honesty. As a Presbyterian, Harnack cannot have liked to recognise that fully developed episcopacy existed in Asia Minor in the early years of the second century; as an Evangelical, it must have been displeasing to him to find the Roman Church of the same date the president among all the churches, and fixing the conditions of unity in decisive questions of faith; * and as a Unitarian, he would naturally prefer not to admit the trinitarian reading and sense of Titus ii. 13.† The fact that he does accept these positions as proved by the evidence, must be taken for a sign that he, and others of the same school, are actuated in their investigations by a sincere desire to ascertain the truth.

In the olden days of the Protestant controversy a number of the principles and practices of the Catholic Church used to be set down as mediæval corruptions; this position has long been seen to be untenable, and recourse was had to the theory that a sort of invasion of paganism into the Church took place in the time of Constantine and his first successors, owing to the wholesale admission to baptism of half-converted and half-instructed pagans. But this theory must in turn be abandoned; for the course of recent research has brought leading rationalistic scholars to recognise freely that the beliefs and practices in question existed long before Constantine, and that by the close of the second century, or very soon after, the Catholic Church stands revealed before us, with all the great principles already at work which have issued in the Catholic Church of our day. We shall quote a remarkable passage from Renan :

Si nous comparons maintenant le christianisme, tel qu'il existait vers l'an 180, au christianisme du IV^e et du V^e siècle, au christianisme du moyen âge, au christianisme de nos jours, nous trouvons qu'en réalité il s'est augmenté de très peu de chose dans les siècles qui ont suivi . . . Quant aux dogmes, rien n'est fixé; mais la germe de tout existe; presque aucune idée n'apparaîtra qui ne puisse faire valoir des autorités du I^{er} et du 2^e siècle. Il y a du trop, il y a des contradictions; le travail théologique consistera bien plus à émonder, à écarter des superfluités qu'à inventer du nouveau. L'Église laissera tomber une foule de choses mal commencées, elle sortira de bien des impasses. Elle a encore deux

* *Dogmengeschichte*, i. pp. 400-412.

† *Ibid.* i. 159.

cœurs, pour ainsi dire [this means of course the Tübingen *Petrinismus* and *Paulinismus*]; elle a plusieurs têtes [i.e. the patriarchs and even the bishops]; ces anomalies tomberont; mais aucun dogme vraiment original ne se formera plus.*

This passage is quoted with full approval by Harnack, except that he considers the year 180 somewhat too early—he would place “the full establishment of the Catholic Church” half a century or so later; but he says that all the changes that have taken place since the middle of the third century are as nothing in comparison with those which, he believes, took place in the first two centuries of Christian history.†

It is needless to say that the whole attitude of mind of these writers towards the group of problems that make up that most vital subject of inquiry known as “Christian Origins,” is utterly and entirely different from that of any Catholic. Still, great though the difference be, it may with truth be said that it lies, or may lie, less in questions of detail or of fact, than in the great fundamental principle of belief in the Church as the divinely appointed and divinely guided society for the promotion of the spiritual interests and eternal welfare of mankind. And according to the standpoint from which they are viewed, the same set of facts may appear to one an harmonious growth, a development at once natural and providential, in which agencies both human and divine have played their part in the unfolding of forces latent and meanings hidden in the principles and teachings that were given in the beginning; while another will see in the same set of facts but an inroad of corruptions—a farrago of Jewish ideas, of Greek philosophy, of Oriental mysticism, of political centralisation, and of the unworthy ambitions included under such terms as sacerdotalism and dogmatism as used by writers of this school—which began in the very beginnings of Christianity and ever waxed stronger and stronger, until in the third century true Christianity was wholly submerged, to be rescued only in the nineteenth. Thinkers such as Renan and Harnack may have brought themselves to view all this with light heart and philosophic eye; but what of the multitude of those who still believe in the divinity of our Lord, and in God’s government

* *Origines du Christianisme*, vii. 503,

† *Dogmengeschichte*, i. 36.

of His Church? Can they contemplate unmoved the fact that the most scientific and most advanced scholarship of the day recognises the Catholic Church and her system, at any rate in broad outline, in the early part of the third century, if not even in the second, and declares that there has been no real innovation in doctrine from that day to this? Is it not a shock to find "Roman Corruptions" thus traced back by uninterested observers perilously near to the Fountain head, to the very threshold of the Apostolic Age?

Such considerations as these may help us to understand the important results that may come from an earnest pursuit of these Ante-Nicene studies. But Catholic students seem as yet hardly to realise this truth, for comparatively little work of the kind has of late years been done by them. Time was when Catholics led the van, and produced editions of Ante-Nicene Fathers and monumental works on early Christian topics, which, after two centuries, and in the full light of the most recent investigations, still hold their own, and are looked up to on all hands as models of learning and scholarship: witness Cotelier and Tillemont; the Oratorians, Thomassin and Morin; the Jesuits, Papebroch and Petau; and it will not be imputed to undue partiality for brethren of the same profession, or to vain complacency in their work, if a still longer list of Benedictines is given, Sabatier, and Ruinart, and Massuet, and Maran, and De la Rue, to mention only a few of the great Maurists, whose names are still household words with all who devote themselves to this sphere of work. We have seen the statement that the small amount of Catholic work recorded in Harnack and Preuschen's *Geschichte*, and in other such books by non-Catholics, is due to sectarian prejudice; we feel bound to express our conviction that there is no ground for such an insinuation, and that whatever good work is done by Catholics meets with due recognition. Most writings by Catholics on the first three centuries have been of the nature of controversy or vulgarisation, classes of work not falling within the scope of the books in question. But out of the dozen names mentioned with special honour by Harnack in his "Vorrede," three are those of Catholics; and throughout his work, and Krüger's too, we often meet the names of Pitra, Duchesne, Tixeront, Batiffol, de Smedt, Bickell, Schanz, Bardenhewer—Catholic

priests all—and above all, that of Dr. Funk, of Tübingen, who seems to be the one Catholic scholar in touch with the whole sweep of these studies, whose opinions are ever recorded with all respect. And Dr. Krüger supplies a remarkable illustration of what has here been said: most readers will remember the fact that some three years ago the whole religious world of Germany was stirred to its foundations by a controversy on the Apostles' Creed, which called forth tractates and articles without number, and in which many of the leading scholars of all schools took part. In the list of literature on the "Symbol" given by Krüger, besides the well-known fundamental works, four tracts only out of all called forth by the controversy are mentioned—those of the two protagonists, Harnack and Zahn, and those of the Benedictine Bäumer, and the Jesuit Blume; the contributions of such eminent scholars as Zöckler, Lemme, and others being passed by without mention. In face of these facts, we do not think it can fairly be said that there is any disposition to depreciate Catholic work as such. If little is said about it, the reason is that little exists. In France and Germany some excellent early work has been done by Catholics; and it would seem that we in England and Ireland should no longer lag behind our brethren on the continent.

Enough has been said in this article to bring out the tendency of contemporary thought on these questions, and to make it plain that the first three centuries are a field to which it is of utmost importance that the Christian scholar should in these times direct his attention. Once the middle of the third century is turned, difficulties almost disappear; it is the obscure and complicated problems of the earliest Christian epoch that will prove the chief intellectual danger to the faith of such of the coming generation as will be brought into contact with the intellectual life of the time. And, therefore, it is the primary duty of him whose allotted work it is to help in building up the intellectual side of the edifice of God's Church in these our days, and thus do what in him lies to avert what must needs prove a serious danger to many, to set himself at work betimes to grapple seriously with this most important branch of ecclesiastical study. It is a great gain that the battle-ground between the Church and her opponents has been narrowed to so small a field, and has been shifted back to the very earliest

period of her history. And as this advantage has been won, not, so to say, by force of arms, but by the mere inherent power of Truth, unfolding herself, all unnoticed, in and through the unwearied labours of innumerable workers, who certainly had no such object in view, nor any consciousness of what they were leading up to, while controversialists were busy elsewhere ; so it would seem that the advantage thus gained may best be followed up not by the controversialist, but by the mere seeker after Truth, who is equipped with the same weapons, who follows the same methods, and who is actuated by the same spirit as is found in the highest type of those who take the opposite view ; who sets himself to rival their thoroughness, their power of work, their learning ; who makes it his business to look facts straight in the face ; who possesses that patience in the presence of difficulties which is begotten of a real and living Faith ; and who above all things is filled with a loyal, a passionate love of Truth, ever Faith's most trusty handmaid.

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER.

ART. VI.—“CATHOLIC SOCIALISM.”

Catholic Socialism. By Prof. F. S. NITTI. Translated from the second Italian Edition by MARY MACKINTOSH, with an Introduction by Prof. DAVID G. RITCHIE. London: Swan Sonnenschein. 1895.

IN an address delivered at Portsmouth in the autumn of 1893, Cardinal Vaughan quoted with approval the following passage from the commentary written by his predecessor, Cardinal Manning, on the Labour Encyclical of the Pope :

The terms Socialism and Socialistic have an essentially ill signification. Socialism is to society what rationalism is to reasoning. It denotes an abuse, an excess, a de-ordination in human society, as rationalism denotes a misuse and an abuse of reason. All reasoning must be rational that is in conformity with the laws of reason, and all legislation for human society must be both human and social by the necessity and nature of mankind. Inhuman and anti-social law is not law, but tyranny or anarchy. It implies therefore a laxity of thought, or at least of terminology, to speak of Christian Socialism or of Catholic Socialism. The Holy Father is too keen in his apprehension, and too exact in his reasoning to admit such confusion even in terms.

In truth one of the aims of the Encyclical *Rerum novarum* was to prove (I am using the words of the Bishop of Liège) that Socialism could only make the condition of the workmen worse, and bring about the ruin of society. And if there had been any previous ambiguity, and if Socialists had flattered themselves that the Pope misunderstood them because in his first Encyclical (*Quod apostolici*, 1878) he had bracketed them with Communists and Nihilists, there could be no doubt after May 1891 that he perfectly understood them and energetically condemned them.

This being so, we must feel some surprise that in the year 1895, among the volumes of the half-guinea international library, should appear one bearing the title “Catholic Socialism,” and repeating upon almost every page this unfortunate contradiction in terms. There is an explanation indeed, as of most things, by mounting to the sources. The first edition of

the Italian original, "Il Socialismo Cattolico," by Signor Nitti, Professor of Political Economy at Naples, was published shortly before the encyclical on the Condition of Labour; and the second edition shortly after. At that time the term Catholic Socialism was less misleading and offensive than it is now; for considerable confusion regarding social science and social reform was still prevalent among Catholics, their ideas not yet having been cleared by that luminous and comprehensive Papal letter. And the title of the Italian book reappears only too accurately translated in the English edition.

But we have to do with more than an anachronism in the title of this book, and cannot mend it by simply putting the phrase Catholic social movement or social reform wherever the author uses Catholic Socialism. For he himself is in a fog. And thus the first serious criticism I have to make on the book before us is that Professor Nitti fails to make clear what he means by Socialism. He distinguishes Religious Socialism, Anarchical Socialism, Collectivism, and State Socialism as the principal forms of modern Socialism, all of which he proposes in due course to examine impartially. He speaks of "real genuine Socialism," of "true and proper Socialistic doctrines"; and later on declares the economic doctrines of Bishop von Ketteler and his followers in Germany to be "simply the theories of Marx and Lassalle invested with a slight Catholic varnish, and connected by a few quotations with the teachings of the Fathers of the Church" (p. 135). Again he says, "with the exception of a few points touching on religious matters, the programme of De Mun and the collaborators of the *Association Catholique* is identical with that of the most advanced Socialists" (p. 290). These charges are in themselves to be vehemently repudiated; the "varnish" or the "few points" that alone distinguish these illustrious Catholics from the Socialists being nothing less than the defence of private industry, private landowning, private incomes, the material foundations of Christian family life, and much else that the Socialists would overthrow. But then it is very dubious whether Professor Nitti really means what he seems to say. For elsewhere, speaking in most respectful and sympathetic terms of the present Cardinal of Westminster, he has the following passage:

He takes but small interest in political matters, and will probably never join the ranks of militant Socialism ; but if by Socialism we mean all reasonable and just efforts to alleviate the sufferings and improve the moral, material and social state of the less fortunate classes of society, then indeed we may say that Cardinal Vaughan is a Socialist in the truest and most Christian sense of the word (p. 324).

This passage is one of the additions made by the author to the English edition. But previously he has said alike in Italian and English : " Under whatever aspect we may choose to consider it, Socialism is nothing else than the doctrine opposed to Individualism " (p. 77). Now individualism being the principle, " Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost," we, as Catholics, under this system of nomenclature, must be all hearty Socialists. Nor are we surprised when Professor Nitti affirms further on, that there is nothing in Christian morality and the teachings of the Church that is in open contradiction with the morality of Socialism " (p. 113) ; or when he tells us that the great Catholic leader Canon Hitze is a convinced Socialist (p. 154) ; and that in Austria Anti-semitism is neither more nor less than a form of Socialism (p. 200). But the result is singular ; and our author reminds us of the ingenious showmen at fairs who will display a dog, a cat, a canary, a mouse, a rabbit and a weazel, all in happy amity in a single cage. For he makes Popes, Cardinals and Bishops, not to speak of Fathers of the Church, dwell in amity with revolutionary collectivists and outspoken atheists all caged together in a happy Socialistic family. But such displays, though ingenious, are not instructive.

A second criticism applies, not indeed to the Italian original or Professor Nitti, but to the English edition and to Professor Ritchie, that this volume is belated. The few additions that have been made in the English only reach as far as 1892, and are utterly inadequate. For the Encyclical of May 1891 was a central point to which the previous social movement among Catholics had led up, and from which our present social movement proceeds ; our works now are the putting into effect the counsels of the Papal letter ; our writings are commentaries on it ; our controversies relate to its interpretation. Hence the right title of the book before us should have been " The Social Movement among Catholics previous to the Papal

Encyclical on Labour." But as it is, the plain British reader is liable to be singularly misled if he thinks, because the preface by Professor Ritchie is dated May 1895, that he is being brought "up to date." For, to take three countries only, there is no proper account of the new and vigorous social action of the *Belgian* Catholics, Mgr. Doutreloux, Bishop of Liège, conspicuous among them; and the strictures on the Belgian Catholic Government, probably exaggerated when Professor Nitti wrote them, are repeated, as though they had not now become an anachronism. Again, the grand campaign against Socialism carried on by the *German* Catholics in these last years, and especially the works of the Jesuit, Victor Cathrein, appear unknown to Professor Ritchie, though the brilliant tract written by Cathrein against the Socialists has been translated into English as well as French, and has gone through many editions in its original German. Such a book, it may be remarked, written by one who is hand and glove with those social reformers in Germany, whom Professor Nitti has called Catholic Socialists, shows how very inappropriate is this phrase. The hammer of the Socialists can hardly be himself one of his own victims. But it is the *Italian* Catholics to whom the greatest injustice is done by the English version of "*Il Socialismo Cattolico*." We are told that the clergy of Italy are "weak and ignorant," and "intimidated by the vicinity of the Vatican." But we are not told how, in spite of these serious disabilities, this clergy in conjunction with the laity have in the practical order promoted popular banks and rural co-operative societies with marvellous success; and in the scientific order have established and carried on since January 1893 a social science review of extreme vigour and competence, namely, the *Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, published monthly scarce a mile from the Vatican, and forming three large volumes a year, each of over 600 pages, devoted to social questions.

It is not pleasant to have to find fault; and before passing to other criticisms let me protest, in case this review should come to the notice of Professor Nitti, that I know how easy it is to criticise a book, how difficult to write one; and that precisely because he writes so much that is excellent, it becomes a duty to put up warning sign-posts where he seems likely to lead the unwary reader into a morass.

Briefly then to finish our adverse comments, the chapter on the economic origins of Christianity and the social traditions of the Catholic Church should be struck out. For the author himself must by this time be aware that Renan, whom he repeatedly quotes and submissively follows, is not a serious authority. But we may fairly presume that he no longer abides by the amazing misinterpretation of the Prophets, of the Gospels, of the Fathers, and of the Mendicant Orders, that would deduce from them rank Communism like that of Wycliffe, Huss, Jean Petit, and the Anabaptists. For it is with his knowledge and authorisation that the translator, the lamented Miss Mary Mackintosh, has inserted a number of notes giving the interpretations that common sense and Catholic tradition alike demand. So let us hope that we may take this chapter as cancelled, and need not give it further attention.

There is, however, another chapter, with no notes of correction, and with no sign of the author having changed his mind—a chapter that in great part should also be withdrawn—namely, the one entitled "The Papacy and the Social Question." It is full of inaccuracies and misapprehensions; for example, that the Pope was once friendly to Socialism and then turned against it; that his Labour Encyclical contains but vague and indefinite affirmations; that in it he condemns attempts to make workmen profit-sharers; that when the Pope had temporal power it sufficed for a man-of-war to appear in the waters of Civita Vecchia, or an armed company on the Pontifical confines, to force the Pope to act contrary to his own convictions; that the Queen of England promised to found a Catholic University in Dublin, hoping thus to secure the Pontiff's support against the Irish agitation; that the political doctrines proclaimed in the Syllabus are contrary to science and reason. In short, the chapter ceases to be serious, and sinks towards the level—*horresco referens*—of some official organ of the Italian Government.

But let us hurry away from these malarious lowlands to the heights where Professor Nitti shows his truer and better self, and we can listen to him with gladness. Listen, for example, to the following passage from his preface:—

The social question—for, in the clear light of facts, who can deny that it exists?—is not only based on an economic problem, but constitutes of

itself a vast moral problem, the resolution of which modern society may try to delay, but which, sooner or later, must be faced. It is the Sphinx of modern times, and we stand in the presence of the same cruel dilemma which in bygone days tortured other societies no less flourishing, no less endowed with intellectual light than in our modern society : cruel dilemma which, if we would not perish, must be solved.

And he points out admirably who is responsible for this dilemma—the term Liberalism being used in the continental sense of free-thinking and secularism as regards religion, and of *laissez-faire* as regards economics.

Our writers, philosophers, and politicians never weary of inculcating to the people the doctrines of Materialism, and of striving to destroy that religious faith which long ages of inheritance had so firmly implanted in their souls. Hence comes it that day by day the very foundations of society become more insecure ; and it is precisely the men who diffuse these principles who are most obstinate in ignoring the consequences to which they must lead.

The Liberal school has urged the masses onward in the path of Socialism, granting them political power, accustoming them to large promises, despoiling them of all religious belief, yet offering them no better compensation than vain and empty phrases.—*Preface.*

Thus with good reason the Socialist deputy Bebel apostrophised the Liberals in the German parliament :

We are your disciples and have but popularised your doctrines, the natural conclusions of which we have taught the people to draw for themselves (p. 10).

And our author points out how the Utilitarianism of Ricardo, Senior, Mill, Bastiat, and others, making utility the basis of all economic morality, has started among the masses a train of reasoning that ends in Socialism. And a little later he tells us :

There can be little doubt but that the progress of Socialism has been much less influenced by economic causes than by political causes and certain philosophical systems. Misery is no new evil ; indeed, it shows a tendency to diminish. That which renders the working-man more discontented nowadays than he formerly was, is the consciousness of his misery (p. 13).

In these and other passages Professor Nitti shows how fully he has grasped the fact that the social question is a religious question—not, indeed, wholly religious, nor wholly soluble by

religion, but insoluble without it ; and that it is anything but a mere *Magenfrage*, or, as we should say in our more refined speech, anything but a mere bread-and-butter question.

But the greatest merit and originality of this book is in the full and sympathetic description that the author gives us of the social movement among Catholics in the various countries of Europe and in the United States, citing many passages from the writings of their leaders ; and thus, at the cost of immense labour to himself, filling up a notable gap in economic literature. In particular, the history of the movement in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and France, each carried on under different surroundings, ought to be of great interest and value to English readers, as giving information not to be collected elsewhere without infinite trouble ; and the two hundred pages it occupies (pp. 100 to 300) are the cream of the book, or, by a more appropriate metaphor, may be likened to the wholesome and refreshing contents of an orange, surrounded by a bright-coloured but somewhat bitter and indigestible rind. But we have done with the rind, and our business now is to thank both author and editor for having brought before the British public, to be known and esteemed, the names, among others, of Von Ketteler, Kolping, Moufang, Hitze, Von Schorlemer-Alst ; of Von Lichtenstein, Von Vogelstein, and Weiss ; of Mermillod, Decurtins, de Mun, and Harmel. Many of these are little known in England, even among Catholics ; but there will in future be much less excuse for such a deficiency in our mental furniture. It is true, as we are told by Leo XIII. himself, that in dealing with the social question the peculiarities of each country have to be regarded ; but this does not mean that the social movement promoted by Catholics in one country may not be of great service in another. How instructive, for example, for those among us who have at heart the revival of agriculture, is the history of the admirable Westphalian Agriculturist's Association described in this book ; how just the appreciation of the true position of large landowners in the speech made in 1880 by Baron Von Schorlemer-Alst, portions of which are as follows :

The duty of a great proprietor essentially consists in his showing that he is a true Christian in his relations with his Church, to whatever confession he belong, in his family, in all his private conduct. . . . He should

live as a Christian, not only in the midst of the people, but with the people. We are bound to distinguish ourselves from those who consider the possession of a large rural property merely as a lucrative investment for their capital, or as a pleasant means of escaping from the heated towns in summer. We must share alike the sufferings and the joys of the people. Thus will be easily formed that bond which should unite great, small, and middle-class proprietors. . . . Hunting, and sport, and all the rest, are certainly very fine things. I fully appreciate their value ; but it is not in these, gentlemen, that the duties of a great proprietor consist ; his duties are of a higher order (pp. 190, 191).

Both political parties among ourselves are striving at last to restore small rural holdings in Great Britain and preserve them in Ireland. But it may be taken as axiomatic that unless the smaller agriculturists are associated they are lost. They must be associated for buying, associated for selling, associated for borrowing, associated for insurance. For all of which the example of Germany and its many *Bauern-Vereine* is most instructive. And I would call the attention of our leaders in social reform, especially of those who are now spreading so successfully rural co-operation in Ireland, to the following passage :

One of his [Von Schorlemer-Alst's] principal endeavours is to prevent the destruction of small patrimonies by the tax-agents and law courts. To attain this end he has founded offices for legal advice, composed of Catholic jurists and lawyers of long experience, who assist the members of the *Westfälischer Bauern-Verein* in drawing up their wills, &c. Wishing also to save the members from useless and expensive lawsuits, he has, since 1886, introduced some very useful measures. Members who are in litigation with other members first apply to conciliators, *Vergleichsämter*, chosen among their neighbours. If the decision pronounced by these does not give satisfaction, the litigants then name a court of arbitrators, *Schiedsgericht*, which judges the case according to law, and the decisions of which have the same obligatory force for members of the *Westfälischer Bauern-Verein* as those given by the ordinary law courts (p. 194).

Passing over the many instructive passages cited from Canon Hitze, one of the most conspicuous Catholic champions and social reformers of Germany, let us turn to the Austrian Empire, a country enthralled by the Jews in a manner very different from any English experience since the thirteenth century.

In Austria and Hungary the Jews enjoy an almost exclusive monopoly of industrial revenue ; nor should we forget that the Press, the banks, the Stock Exchange are all in the hands of the Jews, and that the

latter, far from seeking to amalgamate with the rest of the population hold themselves apart, and do all they can to preserve their own traditions and nationality. . . . The Jews, who carry on large industries, or are proprietors of vast estates, have never sought to do anything to improve the condition of the labouring class which would contribute to dissipating the tide of hatred and unpopularity that surges around them. A recent inquiry has shown that everywhere throughout the Empire the workmen are treated with more severity and exploited with greater avidity by the Jewish industrialists and proprietors (pp. 200, 201).

This, with other passages in Professor Nitti's work, enables us to take an intelligent view of the present situation in Austria, which in great measure is simply a struggle for the emancipation of the Christians. And the following passages will serve as an example of the social teaching of Baron Karl von Vogelsang, who has been perhaps the greatest of all the leaders of social reform in the Dual Monarchy. Speaking of the triumph of the bourgeoisie, and the destruction of the old order by the Revolution—in France the date was 1789, in Austria 1848—he says :

The bourgeoisie, in order to effect its conquests, made use of the people, whom it lured with the mirage of liberty. And the people unwittingly fought for its own ruin, and to form and extend the large class of the proletariat. Together with the bourgeoisie triumphed capitalism; that is to say, the maxim that all wealth is individual property, without burdens or duties, and is destined to procure to its proprietor the largest possible amount of advantages, without any regard to the good of the community, or of the men employed in procuring them. This maxim finds its purest expression in moneyed capital, or value considered in the abstract, apart from the object—value which, under whatever circumstances, or whatever may happen to the object itself, must bring in its interest to the capitalist. It is under this form that the capitalist idea actually dominates over the entire economic life of nations. States, with their countless millions of public debt, are its tributaries; the soil is subject to it to the extent, that it not only gives it the rent, but the greater part of the produce as well; industry may now be said to labour almost exclusively for capitalism, and the towns and cities belong to it from attic to basement (p. 220).

Though these remarks are more fully applicable to the Austrian Empire and to the United States than to England, they are worth our consideration, as well as the following :

The aim of Christian society should not be the protection of any particular class of workers, since in society organised on Christian principles every one ought to work. In place of the horizontal lines of

society, formed by the rich and idle, there should be formed a system of vertical supraposition according to the various trades and professions, for no one should remain in idleness, but each should occupy the post allotted him in the corporative organisation (p. 223).

Perhaps among the many figures brought before us in these pages, the most interesting of all is that of Gaspard Decurtins, who has made his own the cause of the Swiss workmen, of their wives, and of their children; who has received warm encouragement from the Pope himself; and who can almost be said to have captured for the Church the once hostile democracy of Switzerland.

Gaspard Decurtins, who is little more than thirty-five (now forty) years of age, is decidedly the most popular man in Catholic Switzerland. "Imagine to yourself," says one of his biographers, "a tall, broad-shouldered man, of simple manners and bold resolute carriage, with a mass of fair hair, thick fair moustache, and two great blue eyes that remind you of the traditional type of the ancient Gauls. Add to all that, a warm sonorous voice, flowing and passionate language that rushes on like a torrent; the very incarnation of a tribune and popular speaker. He belongs to a good Swiss family; but has nothing affected, studied, or haughty about him; great natural cordiality that wins your sympathy at once. There is never a peasant wedding, nor village festival at which he does not assist and speak. Not only has he a predilection for the lowly, he loves and frequents them." . . . He is neither a visionary nor a dupe, but a thoroughly practical man, who ignores neither the difficulties of the question he treats, the hardships of real life, nor the profound contrast existing between real life and scientific theory (pp. 250-252).

There is to be found in chapter X., a very fair description of the great work done in France by Count de Mun, of the model factory of Leon Harmel at Val de Bois, and certain of the controversies among French Catholics. But these are matters more or less familiar to us, and I can pass them over. A slip in the translation, by which the name of the late distinguished Catholic Economist, Claudio Jannet, appears persistently as Claude Jannet, I only mention in order to say that it is one of the very few mistakes of the sort; and that the English throughout is pleasantly written, preserving the vivacity and clearness of the Italian.

Having now put both the weak and the strong points of this book before my readers, I ought, perhaps, to conclude with a word in answer to a possible question from some of them. It may be said that although Catholic Socialism is a misnomer,

there has certainly been a great Catholic social movement; and it may be asked whether or not there has been a change of front, whether or not we may speak of a "social evolution of the Church," whether or not she has now become democratic and the Church of the people. Whole books have been written on the alleged change,* but I must be content with a few sentences. I would answer then, that, if by asserting a change, we mean to assert that the Church has now for the first time comprehended her social mission, and that in the eighteenth century for example, she was not the Church of the people but of the courts and aristocracy, we are wrong. The unchanging Church has ever had the same social principles, whether set for by St. Paul or St. Ambrose, St. Thomas or Suarez, Benedict XIV. or Leo XIII. Thus Von Vogelsang could exclaim with justice: "All my social conceptions, however advanced they may appear, have no other basis but the old Christian civilisation of the western races" (*cit.* Nitti, p. 222). Thus Mgr. Ireland, in his discourse in the Cathedral of Baltimore (October 18, 1893), declared emphatically that the principles on which rest the social movement of our times, in so far as it is legitimate, are the principles that have always been taught in the schools of Catholic theology. Thus Canon Hitze says:

The principles indeed are old; they are expounded in masterly fashion by St. Thomas; the principles of interest and usury, property and labour, justice and charity, law and government, are all of ancient date (*cit.* Nitti, p. 143).

The great doctrines of both the corruption and the dignity of human nature, of the needs and constitution of the Christian family, remain what they ever were. But in the application and development of Christian principles there have been many changes, as the surrounding world has changed through which the Church pursues her toilsome way. She is ever the same Church, with her predilection for the poor and for the weak, and her uncompromising teaching on the dangers and responsibilities of riches. But her manner of speech must be adapted to her hearers and their circumstances. The preaching of St.

* See the admirable article in the *Rivista Internazionale*, Sept. 1894, by Prof. Toniolo on "La pretesa evoluzione sociale della Chiesa," with special reference to the books of Anatole Leroy Beaulieu and E. Spuller.

Bernard to the feudal nobility in the twelfth century must be expected to be different in manner, both from the preaching of St. Chrysostom, to the luxurious and wealthy Byzantines in the fourth century, and from the preaching of Bossuet to the court of the Grand Monarque in the seventeenth century ; the methods of Christian social reform, suitable in the days of Constantine, must be expected to be different from those suitable either in the days of St. Francis of Assisi, or in those of Leo XIII. If such differences as these are what we are to understand by the "social evolution of the Church," the phrase may be tolerated ; but not otherwise. For when the Holy Father says, *allez au peuple*, he is the echo of the Church of the catacombs. When he demands in the face of all adverse laws, contracts and customs, the free exercise of Christian family life, he is following in the footsteps of his predecessors, who upheld, in despite of the majesty of the Roman law, the marriage of slaves. And his Encyclical on labour is in no contradiction with the Syllabus of Pius IX. Both are of a piece ; both are directed against the *novum jus* or godless liberalism, that, growing up in the eighteenth century, wrought havoc first in the political and then in the economic field. There is a new movement undoubtedly in the Church, but no new departure, no sagacious opportunism. For opportunism means that we keep fast to no principles, and that we ever shout with the mob, or if there are two, with the largest. But the Church, neither in this century nor any other, abandons her principles or changes her doctrine ; on the contrary, she is ever carrying out her principles and developing her doctrine, applying the abstract to the concrete, and perpetually informing with her spirit an ever-resisting and ever-changing world. It follows that her chief pastors, as every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven, must be like to an householder who bringeth forth out of his treasure new things and old.

CHARLES S. DEVAS.

ART. VII.—MAYNOOTH COLLEGE: ITS CENTENARY HISTORY.

Maynooth College, its Centenary History. By the Most Rev.
JOHN HEALY, D.D., LL.D., M.R.I.A., Bishop of Macra,
and Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert. Dublin: Brown and
Nolan. 1895.

THE Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert had already laid the Church of Ireland under many obligations of gratitude, and in the magnificent work before us he has certainly added to the number. The history of the great national College of Maynooth was not written a day too soon. Documents of greater or less importance to the history of the College would, no doubt, have been preserved and handed down to posterity, but the great body of traditions which cluster around an institution like Maynooth would have been lost or obscured in the course of a few generations to come. The present historian of Maynooth is sufficiently removed from the incidents of its early life to be able to see them in their true perspective, and in the calm, grey light of history. At the same time, he is sufficiently near to the events which he relates to have inherited those living traditions which, though leaving but little impress on the written record, still survive and furnish the clue to much that would otherwise be unintelligible or obscure. The author of "Ireland's Saints and Scholars" was eminently qualified for his task, both from his profound knowledge of the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, and from the fact that, as a student and professor of Maynooth, his life for a great part of his career was spent within its walls. His style is characterised by clearness and dignity, whilst occasionally it rises to the level of genuine eloquence. To write the history of his *Alma Mater* was to him not only a labour of love, but the discharge of a sacred duty to the Irish Church, of which he is so illustrious a member. The universal chorus of praise which has welcomed his work from all sides, and from writers, too, who might be supposed to have but scant sympathy with Maynooth, bears witness to the able and efficient manner in which the task

has been fulfilled. Bishop Healy has unquestionably given us a remarkable and monumental book, and one that must necessarily form the groundwork of any history of Maynooth that may be written in the future.

It does not in any way detract from the measure of his success to say that he had a subject worthy of even the ablest pen. It is not too much to say that Maynooth holds in its keeping the future of the grand old Irish Church, and is now as in the past the trustee of its traditions and of its destinies. It is it that moulds both spiritually and intellectually the men who shape the religious life and character of the Irish people at home, and who indirectly but powerfully influence the thoughts and sympathies of those who are abroad. It is safe to assert that Ireland, in its religious and social aspects of the future, will be what Maynooth will make it. Men of Irish blood form the majority of the Catholic population in the English speaking countries. The great Churches of Australia and of the United States, in a century from now, will in all human probability form the fairest provinces of Catholic Christendom. Maynooth will continue to be, as it has been in the past, an important factor in their development. The momentous task of maintaining and retaining a nation in the fervour of the Faith is one which might well tax the resources of any single college in Christendom. Yet it is the one which Maynooth has fulfilled for the past fifty or sixty years, and one which it is destined to fulfil in a still larger measure in the future. Owing to the diminished recourse to foreign colleges, the number of Maynooth trained priests is steadily increasing. The College now numbers over six hundred students on its roll. Five-sixths of the bishops and priests of Ireland now living were educated under its roof.

The centenary of the Maynooth festival this year was celebrated with a solemnity and impressiveness which those who witnessed it are never likely to forget. Two princes of the Church, forty-five archbishops and bishops, and over fourteen hundred priests met together in the College to do honour to the occasion. It would be difficult to find in the chequered history of the Church of Ireland an assembly of like proportions and importance. Outside of Rome itself, so large and representative a meeting of ecclesiastics could hardly have been looked

for As one speaker well remarked, it looked more like a General Synod of the Irish Church than a mere collegiate gathering. To such a meeting the College, with its spacious grounds, its vast quadrangles, its lofty corridors, and stately halls, and, above all, its glorious church, afforded a worthy setting. In this sense, the very buildings speak. They are the creation of a people who, amid centuries of suffering, have cherished a passionate love of learning, combined with a still deeper love of the Faith. Maynooth is now to Ireland what the great schools of her early history as a Christian nation were to her in the long distant past. Bangor, Clonmacnoise, Clonard, Armagh, are names that awaken imperishable memories. Maynooth is their representative to-day, and the inheritor of their Faith and their learning.

Bishop Healy very appropriately devotes a few introductory chapters to a brief account of those ancient centres of education, and of those colleges abroad which in later times received the Irish youth when their country was passing through the red sea of persecution. They are not by any means the least interesting among the pictures presented in this fascinating volume. Owing to her insular position, and to her consequent freedom from the seething turmoil that followed upon the disruption of the Roman Empire, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, Ireland afforded a peaceful home and refuge to the learning and culture of the period. It was in a great measure due to this protective action that most of the countries of the north and west of Europe retained, during those troubled times, any vestige of intellectual refinement. St. Bede tells us (Book III. c. 17) that in A.D. 664,

many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English were in Ireland at that time, who, in the days of Bishop Finan and Colman, forsaking their native land, retired thither for the sake of divine studies, or of a more continent life; and some of them presently devoted themselves to a monastic life; others chose rather to apply themselves to study, going about from one master's cell to another. The Irish willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also with books to read, and their teaching gratis.

Eric of Auxerre speaks of the "flocks" of Irish philosophers that came like migratory birds to the shores of France. St. Bernard later on describes in his life of St. Malachy, "the

swarms of Irish missionaries " as spreading over foreign nations like an inundation of the sea. Bishop Healy quotes Montalembert as saying

that there was in the Irish monasteries an intellectual development altogether unknown in the Egyptian lavra, which rivalled that of the greatest of the monastic schools of Gaul.

Music was held in high honour ; caligraphy and miniature painting were cultivated with such ardour and success that types of beauty were called forth, which modern art is fain to study and to reproduce. In the schools, Virgil was copied and Ovid was expounded. That Greek literature was most efficiently studied, the works of Scotus Erigena clearly prove ; and no branch of knowledge which could tend in any way to adorn religion or illustrate the saving truths of faith was left untouched. Irish culture was eminently a plant of home growth. It is true that the seed was imported from Italy and Gaul, but it thrived and flourished in the genial atmosphere of the Irish monastic schools. The science of astronomy found its votaries. Farrel, latinised into Virgilius, surnamed the " wanderer," was the Abbot of an Irish monastery. He went forth as a missionary to Germany, and shocked the honest German folk not a little by his extraordinary teaching. He was regarded as something little better than a heretic for teaching the sphericity of the earth and the possibility of men dwelling at the Antipodes. The Pope punished him by making him Archbishop of Salzburg. Dungall of Pavia, another of the same class of missionaries, displays in his letters to Charlemagne a thorough grasp of astronomical knowledge, such as it existed in his time, especially in his "*De Duplici Solis Eclipsi.*"

This bright era in the history of the Irish Church was quenched in bloodshed. The Danish invaders murdered the teachers and burned the schools. Learning, however, still lingered on, and under the fostering care of St. Malachy recovered a certain splendour, though not equal to its earlier glory. A second time were the schools of Ireland desolated, when De Courcy, De Lacy, and De Burgo trampled into the dust the new hope of Ireland's regeneration. During the whole of the period from the landing of Strongbow to the apostacy of Henry VIII., learning in Ireland at no time reached the standard of its former excellence. Undoubtedly, a number of

schools of average merit were attached to the monasteries, and were taught for the most part by men of University training, but they were not sufficient, either in numbers or efficiency, to cope with the educational requirements of the country. Various attempts were made to establish a University, but without success. From the time when the storm burst at the Reformation, down to the closing decades of the last century, education in Ireland for the Catholics of Ireland practically ceased to exist. In A.D. 1537 an Act was passed in the Parliament of the Pale—without a single representative of Celtic Ireland sitting in the upper or lower house—in which it was enacted :

That any one who shall by writing, printing, preaching, or teaching, or by any deed or act, hold or maintain, or defend the authority, jurisdiction or power of the Bishop of Rome, or of his See, their aiders, abettors, concealors, or councillors, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall incur the penalties ordained by the Statute of *Præmunire*.

The penalty of *Præmunire* was loss of goods and outlawry, so that the accused person might be slain with impunity. It was also enacted :

That every religious person at the time of his or her profession or entry into religion, and every other ecclesiastical person at the time of his taking orders, and every other person who shall be promoted to any degree of learning in any university within this land, at the time of his promotion or preferment, shall make said oath (the oath of Royal Supremacy), before the Chancellor or Commissary of such university.

In another section :

Any one lawfully commanded, and obstinately refusing to take the oath, shall be deemed guilty of high treason, and suffer the pains of death, and other penalties as in cases of high treason.

The same Parliament passed an Act dissolving the monasteries, and granting their property to the king. Those who received royal grants of abbeys and abbey lands proceeded to secure themselves against the return of the rightful owners, by pulling down the buildings and selling the materials. In a few years there was not a single monastery left standing in any part of Ireland where the king's writ ran. The monastery schools were suppressed, and Ireland was left bereft of any provision for education. During the brief period of the restora-

tion of the Catholic religion under Queen Mary, the schools could not be reopened, as the buildings had everywhere been laid in ruins. In the reign of Elizabeth, laws still more oppressive were passed against Catholics, and against Catholic education. As year followed year, the terrible and blood-thirsty penal code became more and more stringent. It is well described by Edmund Burke:

As a machine of elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.

Under Cromwell the remedy was short and simple. Thirty thousand soldiers were allowed to emigrate and take service in foreign countries. Their wives and children were sold as slaves to the merchants of Bristol, and shipped to the Barbadoes, to work in the sugar plantations. Every Catholic who remained in Ireland was commanded under the penalty of death to retire to a district west of the Shannon. The Irish nation was to be stamped out of existence, and the land peopled afresh with Protestant colonists from Great Britain. Books like Prendergast's "Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland," and Father Murphy's "Cromwell in Ireland," make the blood of their readers run cold at the recital of the barbarous atrocities committed upon a defenceless people. In the presence of such events, it would be merely the bitterest irony to trace the history of education.

During the two and a half centuries of this relentless persecution, the Irish Church was supplied with priests and bishops who were educated abroad. At no time was Ireland entirely deprived of bishops. The number of priests was sadly too small to minister to the spiritual wants of the people, but the lamp of Faith burned as brightly and steadily as ever. Its lustre was not unfrequently enhanced by the red glow of martyrdom. The Irish people were too firmly knitted to the Rock of Peter to be drawn from it, either by gold or steel. The Popes, as we might well expect, did all that was humanly possible to keep up the supply of clergy for Ireland. In their paternal solicitude, colleges for the education of Irish missionary priests were founded in Rome; and, by their active co-operation, colleges were in like manner established for the

same purpose in various parts of Portugal, Spain, France, and Belgium. Urban VIII. founded the College of St. Isidore in Rome, in .A.D 1625, under the presidency of Father Luke Wadding, an Irish Franciscan, while another college was established at St. Clement's, under the Irish Dominicans. About this same time a galaxy of colleges was formed as outposts of Irish education at Lisbon, Madrid, Salamanca, Paris, and Louvain. They never wanted a supply of students, though for these, the journey from their homes in Ireland to the colleges abroad was plentifully beset with perils and difficulties. The seaports were infested with spies, anxious to earn the Government reward for betraying Irish youths who left the realm to receive an education on the Continent. These exiles of faith and learning shipped as merchants' apprentices, and often as common sailors, working their passage before the mast. Bishop Healy, in beautiful and touching language, thus describes their condition :

But although the worst was over when the sea was crossed, the poor lads often found themselves in a sad plight in the port where they landed—oftentimes without money, without friends, without the least knowledge of the foreign tongue to make their wants known. Then some friendly Jesuit picked them up rambling about the docks ; or some Irish soldier of the Brigade took care of a friendless boy whom he chanced to meet, and brought him to a place of safety ; or some charitable merchant led him home to his own family until arrangements could be made to transfer him to one of the Irish colleges there, or in some other city. We know from existing records that such incidents were of constant occurrence. . . .

Would that we could afford space to give the record in detail, for it is a touching and beautiful story—to show how the King of Spain wrote with his own hand to his high officials bidding them have a care that the poor Irish students should want for nothing, and should be provided—every one of them—when returning home with £10 as a viaticum for his journey ; how his pious Queen likewise wrote to the Pope asking him to found a college for the Irish students in his own city of Rome. He further describes how

the Irish merchants of Seville, Cadiz, and Lisbon, and other cities, agreed to put a tax on every cask of wine which they shipped, for the benefit of the Irish colleges ; how the good citizens of Seville likewise taxed themselves for the same holy purpose ; how the swordsmen of the Irish

Brigade—the exiles from Kinsale and Limerick and Galway—turned aside from the revel and the wine shop, to give the surplus of their hard earned pay to Father Conry, or Father White, or Father Archer for the poor students from dear old Ireland ; how many an old professor in the colleges of France and Flanders, once himself a student like them, would close the old tomes he loved, to read some woeful letter, or see some poor wayworn boy, who brought the latest news from Ireland ; and when the tale was done, with softening eyes he would fervently thank God, who spared his life long enough to earn a little more, which he hoarded up like a miser, that he might be enabled to found another bursse for the exiled students of that beloved land that he never hoped to see again.

It is to these foreign colleges, where Irish youths were trained for the priesthood, that we owe under God the preservation of the Faith. Colleges were also founded abroad for the education of boys from England and Scotland for their respective countries, and by this means the Faith was retained to a remnant of the population in both. None was ever founded for Wales, with the sad result that the principality gradually but only too completely lapsed from the Catholic Church. The Welsh as a people never embraced the doctrines of the Anglican Church. Catholicity slowly died out amongst them because they possessed no clergy of their own. For a considerable time they had practically no religion except the few traditional fragments of Catholicity which they retained.* When Methodism made its appearance, the Welsh people for the most part embraced that form of belief. Were it not for the foresight shown, and the energy exerted in creating colleges abroad for the youth of Ireland, the sad story of the loss of Wales might have been equally true in the case of Ireland.

The foreign colleges continued to be the sole source of supply of clergy to the Church of Ireland down to the end of the last century. Several causes concurred to facilitate the establishment of a college in Ireland itself. First the savagery of the Penal code had undergone some measure of relaxation. The first legal recognition of the existence of Catholics occurred in A.D. 1771. Previous to that date, in the language of

* An old priest informed the present writer that he received a Welsh woman into the Church many years ago who had been brought up a Wesleyan, yet from her childhood she had said the Hail Mary every day and had possessed a knowledge of the Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament. She had learned them from her mother, who was also reared in Wesleyanism.

one of the Judges at the time, "the law did not presume that a Papist existed in Ireland." In that year a law was passed empowering "Papists" to take a lease of land not more than sixty acres in extent, but only in a bog where the peat was at least four feet deep, and more than one mile from any town. In 1774 the Oath of Supremacy was modified into a form which enabled the Munster bishops to allow it to be taken by their people. The wars with America and France had weakened England, and several important concessions to Catholics were wrung by stress of circumstances from the Government of the time. The French Revolution had startled the world. In its sanguinary and successful career, one after another of the colleges where the Irish students had been trained for the priesthood were closed or suppressed. The Irish bishops found themselves in the desperate position of not being able to recruit their clergy. Colleges were no longer available to replenish the gaps in the Irish priesthood. It might have been useless to appeal to the Government for assistance, were it not that there was a more powerful force exerting its pressure from another quarter. The French ideas of liberty and equality had penetrated into Ireland, and owing to causes on which we cannot now dwell, there was a strong tendency amongst all classes to unite in common defence—Protestant and Catholic, North and South—joined hands in the movement. Moreover, it could hardly be a matter of surprise if the clergy who were trained abroad came back animated with feelings anything but friendly to the Government. Be that as it may, they were at least credited with this hostility. The Government were now thoroughly alarmed. They had just seen how Grattan and the volunteers had achieved legislative independence in 1782. Hence they were not by any means unwilling to listen to the petition or "Memorial" of the Irish bishops asking for licence to endow ecclesiastical seminaries in Ireland. The bishops did not ask directly for an endowment, as they feared to awaken the spirit of Protestant jealousy. The Memorial was favourably received, in the sense that it was promised that some relief should be granted to Irish Catholics in the matter of educating their clergy. Various plans were proposed. The bishops desired to establish a seminary for each of the four provinces. The Protestants wished to connect

the proposed institution in some way with Trinity College. In all these delicate negotiations Edmund Burke proved himself the true and tried friend of the Irish Catholics. There exists a tradition in Maynooth that Burke was received into the Church shortly before his death by Dr. Hussey, the Bishop of Waterford. Whether this be true or otherwise, Burke, from a human point of view, would seem to many to have merited the great grace of the Catholic Faith not less than did Cornelius in the days of the Apostles. Finally, with a far-seeing wisdom for which the Irish Church can never be too grateful, it was decided not to fritter away the educational resources of the country in separate seminaries, but to found one great national college for the priesthood of Ireland. A Bill for this purpose was introduced on April 24, 1795, and received the Royal Assent on June 5, of the same year. The college was endowed with a sum of £8000 a year. A body of trustees was appointed by the Act, but they were not empowered to interfere in the teaching or domestic government of the College.

The question next arose, where should the new college be established. The Duke of Leinster offered the trustees very favourable terms if they selected Maynooth. The generous offer was accepted, and a house occupied by the Duke's steward, Mr. Stoyte, and fifty-eight acres of land, were secured at a rent of £72 a year. This was the nucleus of the present College. The president's salary was fixed at one hundred guineas a year. The salaries of the vice-president and the three senior professors was £70 a year, the salaries of the other professors £50. They were allowed besides £30 a year for board. The annual maintenance of each student was fixed at £20. Various professorships were established:

A Professorship of Dogmatical Divinity and Ecclesiastical History.

„	„	Moral Divinity and Canon Law.
„	„	Sacred Scripture and Hebrew.
„	„	Natural and Experimental Philosophy.
„	„	Mathematics.
„	„	Rhetoric.
„	„	First Class in Latin and Greek.
„	„	Second Class in Latin and Greek.

A Professorship of English Elocution.

,, ,, Irish Language.

The vice-president had added to his duties those of econumus, or procurator. On June 27, 1795, the president, some of the professors, and a few students entered into possession, and the work of Maynooth began. The house in which they took up their residence was naturally altogether too small to serve as a college, and in the beginning of 1796 the trustees resolved to commence new buildings. The first opening had been entirely informal, and it was thought advisable that some suitable public demonstration should mark the laying of the foundation stone of the proposed addition. Accordingly, on April 20 of the same year the Lord-Lieutenant, accompanied by several of the nobility and chief officers of State, went to Maynooth for this purpose. The Viceroy was received by several of the trustees and the college staff. The ceremony of laying the stone was performed amidst a scene of universal rejoicing, and Maynooth took its first great step forward in its successful career.

The young College was destined to pass through many formidable storms during the first few years of its existence. To begin with, the loyalty of professors and students was constantly held in suspicion. The teaching was described as immoral and mischievous in its tendency. No calumny was too base to be used as a weapon of attack against the new institution. As a matter of fact, the "loyalty" of Irish ecclesiastics of all grades at that time, and of the principal laity, was never so strong, as an emotional feeling, as it was at that very period. This arose from the recollection of the scenes of butchery which many of its inmates witnessed during the French Revolution. Many of the bishops and clergy, and nearly all the laity who received any education, were trained in France. They were, when students, chased from their colleges, and many of them had escaped only at imminent peril of their lives. In Ireland they saw a fixed, stable Government, and felt that, after all, though they laboured under many grievances, there was yet some public recognition of God, and some acknowledgment of a moral law. The worst horrors of the penal code were now a thing of the past, and they were safe in the public profession of their religion. Not so in France. Religion was

proscribed, and atheism reigned triumphant. The fears of a French invasion at the time were well grounded, as the event subsequently proved. If Ireland fell under the domination of France, then the Church of Ireland would undoubtedly share the fate of the sister Church of France. Hence the perfervid profession of loyalty to even such a worthless sovereign as George III. must not be regarded as being merely an act of courtesy or compliment in the inflated language of the time. Those who made it were genuinely sincere. The persistent attacks on the teaching of the College finally led to the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1826. The result was that the character of the College was entirely vindicated, and the Report of Commission killed many a grotesque no-Popery fable.

Within the last few years an attack of another kind was made on the theological training of Maynooth in its early days in the pages of this REVIEW. As its readers are acquainted with the facts already, there is no necessity to dwell upon them any further than to state that the conclusions any impartial reader might fairly deduce from the controversy might be summed up as follows :

1. The Moral Theology taught was "rigorist" in its views, but it was the legitimate "rigorism" of the time; namely, the "rigorism" of Antoine, which then formed the class-book at Rome as well as at Maynooth.

2. The Dogmatic Theology taught was certainly not Jansenist, nor even Gallican. There was a certain Gallican tinge, but the "four propositions" were never taught, nor was any doctrine inculcated which was distinctively and purely Gallican, as opposed to what was certainly and clearly known to be Catholic.

For a few years after its foundation Maynooth received lay students as well as ecclesiastics; but the system was found not to work satisfactorily, and early in the present century the "lay house" was abolished, and the College has ever since been exclusively ecclesiastical. Maynooth found in its first president, Dr. Hussey, a man eminently qualified for the position. In fact, if we regard the entire staff at its foundation, we may fairly say that they were about as able and as learned a group of men as could have been gathered together

in any country in Europe at the time. They were men who had won high academic honours in the schools of France and Spain, and filled posts of the highest distinction in the Church in those countries which they, as foreigners, could fill. There were giants in those days. Maynooth then, as now, and in the whole century of its history, has been signally favoured by God in having for its professors and rulers men singularly well qualified, both by virtue and talent, to discharge the duties to which they have been called. It has done something towards enriching the literature of theology and the cognate sciences; but it is not by the production of books that the influence of Maynooth must be measured. It is in the lifting up of a nation and a race, in the carrying on of the great work of God's Church and giving to it a zealous and virtuous priesthood to make and keep the children of St. Patrick a faithful and Catholic people that the labour of Maynooth finds its record and its reward.

It may be said that the Maynooth priests had at home to teach and direct a people more docile and amenable to spiritual influences than the peoples of other countries. The very obvious question rises to the lips, who made the people so? Maynooth alone has had practically the spiritual formation of the character of the Irish people in its keeping for three-quarters of a century. That Ireland under their care has suffered no symptom of spiritual retrogression, that there has been no real decline in faith and piety, is a fact so abundantly testified that no Catholic acquainted with the religious state of the country will for a moment call it in question. We might go farther and say that with all the knowledge of the past at our command, there was never perhaps a period when faith was more fervent and piety more practical and religion more flourishing in Ireland than at the present moment. There may be ripples on the surface and an apparent want of that enthusiastic deference to Church authority which in an ideal state of things we should wish to see. But let us look the facts boldly and broadly in the face. The very people who are believed to be thus deficient are sincerely, even passionately Catholic; they are as far removed from what is popularly known as "Catholic Continental liberalism," as the North Pole is from the South. In every age the ever shifting scenes of daily life furnish a

fertile theme to the moralist to decry the "wickedness of these our days." It was so in the days of St. Bernard, and equally so in every century from his time to our own. It would be simply to mistake the shadow for the substance, were we to assume the present evanescent political turmoil and legitimate difference of opinion to portend any permanent declension in the faith and piety of the Irish people. The Church of Ireland has passed through storms immeasurably more severe than anything which we have seen in the present. She has weathered them safely. The troubles of our own times are but a feeble breeze compared to the tempest of earlier periods, and she who passed through the one has nothing to fear from the other.

The population of Ireland had increased enormously between 1800 and 1841. It was never so large as it was in the decade between '41 and '51. The College was unable to supply priests in sufficient numbers to minister to the spiritual wants of the nation. The number of priests required was so great that nothing could be set aside from the annual grant for the purpose of repairing the fabric. The cost of living had also increased, and the funds were in consequence in a state of considerable financial embarrassment. The Irish bishops petitioned the Government of the day for an increase in the grant. It was refused. But events occurred which induced the Government to listen to the demands of the bishops. The Protestant Church in Ireland was then receiving an enormous yearly sum in endowment. The Catholics received but a paltry £8000. In 1843 the Repeal agitation had reached its height. O'Connell was arrested, and by the friendly help of a packed Protestant jury was condemned to prison. The tide of popular excitement ran dangerously high. An appeal was lodged, and the case was tried before the House of Lords. It was on that occasion that the Lord Chancellor made use of the memorable saying, that if juries could be thus packed in Ireland, "trial by jury was a mockery, a delusion, and a snare." The sentence was quashed, and O'Connell was freed from prison. It was at this juncture that the bishops again petitioned for an increase in the College grant. The Government clearly saw that something should be done to conciliate Ireland, and the grant was raised to £26,360 in 1845. There

was a further sum of £30,000 voted for the erection of new buildings and the repair of those already existing. Pugin was the architect selected, and the noble pile of St. Mary's bears testimony to the lofty genius of the great reviver of Gothic art. The years from 1845 to 1870 were signalised by no public event of importance in the history of the College, if we except the work of a Royal Commission of 1855. It was a period of steady internal growth. In 1868 came Mr. Gladstone's great Act disestablishing the Protestant Church in Ireland. The ill-gotten wealth of the ascendancy Church was swept into the coffers of the State. It amounted to the stupendous sum of about £9,000,000. Maynooth was disendowed at the same time. In acknowledgment of the various legitimate claims of vested interests in the College, the College received a sum equal to fourteen years' purchase of its existing annual grant. All connection with the State was then severed, and with this result, that never before was the College so prosperous as it is now, and never before did it contain so many students within its walls.

As soon as Maynooth became free to develop upon its own lines, many improvements were opportunely effected. It is difficult to specify them in detail and to weigh the relative merits of each. Broadly speaking, the condition of the College at the present day may be described as follows. The students are well treated from a material point of view. The food is excellent. Each student is lodged in a room of his own, well lighted and properly treated. He has for his teachers the best scholars and the ablest men in the Irish Church, men who would hold a foremost place in any University in Europe. The result is that a high level of theological learning has been steadily maintained. The purely literary side of the training at Maynooth, as in opposition to the purely professional, has been greatly improved. All the students now study at least two modern languages in addition to English, namely French and Italian. They also receive a better training in English Literature and in Elocution. There is in the College a spirit of industry and love of hard work, which could not easily be surpassed. It is scarcely becoming in a notice like the present to deal with the spiritual side of the collegiate training, but it may be said that its two striking characteristics

are solidity and depth. The discipline of the College has always been remarkable for its inflexible strictness, and this feature, so vitally important in the life of a clerical training school, has never perhaps been more conspicuous than at the present time. We use the word strictness advisedly, in contradistinction to harshness and severity. The rules are so framed that their strict observance is not beyond the strength of the average student. Any violation of rule is always punished with inexorable severity, but never in excess of that specified in the rule. As a result, breaches of the graver or more important rules are found to have occurred only a few times in the course of a generation. The students are trained to habits of prompt and unquestioning obedience. Strange as it may sound, the best idea of Maynooth training would be obtained by comparing it to the rigour and exactness of military discipline. It is a mighty engine, working noiselessly and unceasingly, in moulding the character of those submitted to its influence. Any student who ventures to place himself in opposition to its action is immediately and inevitably crushed and cast aside. At the same time, nothing would be a graver mistake than to infer from what has been said that there is any lack of kindly and paternal feeling in the rigour with which this discipline is enforced. It is severe, no doubt ; but at the same time all recognise that this severity is combined with the most genuine kindness of heart and with the utmost consideration for the wellbeing of each individual student. Looking at the training given in Maynooth at the present moment both in its intellectual and moral aspect, it is safe to assert that the future of the Irish Church will not suffer under its direction. Maynooth has now lived a century, and has left its impress deeply marked upon the history of Ireland in recent times. Like a giant in his race, it starts with renewed strength the second century of its life, with the same high hopes and undaunted courage which have marked every step of its progress in the past. It is now better equipped than ever it has been to face the problems of the future. It was never more deeply conscious of its sublime mission to be the guardian of the national Faith. Its past is not without glory. Its future holds the promise of still brighter glories to come.

Is there not room for further improvement in the studies and discipline of the College? is the question which may naturally rise to the lips of those who have read these words of praise which we have felt to be its due. In the opinion of the present writer, most certainly yes.

The literary side of the Maynooth training ought not to come to an abrupt conclusion when the student commences the study of Theology and Holy Scripture. In advocating this view the writer is happy to shelter himself behind the authority of Bishop Healy, who so ably advocated this very point in his address at Maynooth last June.

We have left but little space for any criticism we might care to pass upon the Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert's book. That it is a work which gives proof of the great learning and high intellectual power of the writer needs scarcely to be said. Any one who wishes to know for himself the modern history of the Irish Church can consult no better authority. To Maynooth men all over the world the reading of his book will recall the vision of the vanished scenes of the cherished past. The magnificent illustrations of the various portions of the College and the excellent portraits of its rulers will awaken memories that can never die. The kindly faces of Russell, and Murray, and Crolly, men with giant intellects and tender hearts gaze at us from these pages. In turning over the leaves many a priest with hoary hair and furrowed brow will grow young again. The adage of the poet is reversed

When the huge book of fairyland is closed
And it's strong brazen clasps shall yield no more.

To a Maynooth-trained priest the golden book of youth is opened again, and its brazen clasps have yielded to the indescribable charm of the Bishop's eloquent story of the *Alma Mater*. He has deserved well of her, well of her sons, and well of the Church of Ireland.

PATRICK LYNCH.

Science Notices.

The Ipswich Meeting of the British Association.—The Presidential Address.—The meeting of the British Association at Ipswich in September last was by no means the least successful of recent gatherings. A cloud was, however, cast upon the opening meeting by the sudden indisposition of the President, Sir Douglas Galton, in the midst of the delivery of his address. But although he was prevented from completing his oration the Association was not long deprived of his services, as with his wonted energy he took an active part in the proceedings of the mathematical and physical section next morning.

Considering that Sir Douglas Galton had acted as one of the general secretaries to the association for twenty-five years, it was not surprising that his address mainly treated of its influence on the advances of science. Few perhaps have before realised how far-reaching that influence has been and how greatly we are indebted to its pioneering spirit.

The following are a few of the President's examples of its more direct influence on progress.

The Association at a very early date recognised that the only sure basis of scientific investigation was in systematic and accurate observation and experiment. Throughout its existence it has specially striven for this end. Before the formation of the Association in 1831 the subject of tides had been almost entirely neglected, notwithstanding its importance to this country as a maritime power. Records had only been recently commenced at the dockyards of Woolwich, Sheerness, Portsmouth and Plymouth, and absolutely nothing had been done in the matter in Scotland and Ireland. The British Association, however, called attention to this neglect and within three years of its inception, viz., by 1834, "had induced the corporation of Liverpool to establish two tidal gauges and the Government to undertake tidal observations at five hundred stations on the coasts of Britain."

The Association has done much to promote the accuracy of the standards by which observations can be compared. At its meeting at Edinburgh in 1834 it caused a comparison to be made between the standard bar measure of length at Aberdeen and the standard of the Royal Astronomical Society, and found that the scale was

about $\frac{1}{500}$ th part of an inch shorter than the five feet of the Royal Astronomical Society's scale. Again at Newcastle in 1863 a committee was appointed to report on the best method of providing for a uniformity of weights and measures with reference to the interests of science. The committee recommended the metric decimal system and this recommendation has been endorsed by a committee of the House of Commons during the last parliamentary session.

A most important action of the Association was to accept the charge of the Royal Observatory at Kew when the Government gave it up in 1842. This charge had been previously refused by the Royal Society. By their efforts it became an observatory "for comparing and verifying the various instruments which recent discoveries in physical science had suggested for continuous meteorological and magnetic observations, for observations and experiments on atmospheric electricity and for the study of solar physics."

In 1871 Mr. Gassiot having transferred £10,000 upon trust to the Royal Society for the maintenance of the Kew Observatory, the Association resigned its charge after having maintained it for thirty years.

Geographical science has largely profited by the efforts of the same body. In 1831 the ordnance survey had only published the 1-inch map for the southern portion of England and the triangulation of the kingdom was incomplete. In 1834 the British Association urged the Government to prepare an accurate map of the whole of the British Isles. It was the Association that persistently pressed on the Government the importance of sending the expedition of Ross to the Antarctic and of Franklin to the Arctic regions.

The development of the science of meteorology may be said to date from the first meeting of the British Association, when Professor James D. Forbes was requested to draw up a report on the state of meteorological science, on the ground that this science was more in want than any other of systematic direction. Now, as Sir Douglas Galton pointed out, systematic records are kept in various parts of the world of barometric pressure, of solar heat, of the temperature and physical conditions of the atmosphere at various altitudes, of the heat of the ground at various depths, of the rainfall, of the prevalence of the winds, &c., while the gradual elucidation not only of the laws which regulate the movements of cyclones and storms, but of the influences which are exercised by the sun, electricity and magnetism upon atmospheric conditions and consequently health and vitality, are gradually approximating meteorology to the position of an exact science.

It is indeed curious that Sir Douglas Galton should have omitted to mention one important way in which the Association has benefited meteorology. It was under the auspices of the British Association that those important investigations in the upper atmosphere were made by Mr. Glaisher, from the car of a balloon.

Some preliminary scientific balloon ascents had been made in connection with the Association from the Kew Observatory in 1852, when Mr. Welsh was the observer.

It was, however, at the Leeds meeting in 1858, that the subject was brought prominently by Colonel Sykes, M.P. for Aberdeen, and an influential committee appointed to organise the equipment of a balloon observatory. The task of observing eventually fell to Mr. Glaisher. By dint of his own perseverance and courage, and the daring, though always prudent piloting of Mr. Coxwell, the aéronaut, a mass of facts concerning the phenomena of the upper air, up to seven miles, has enriched the literature not only of meteorology, but of chemistry, physics, and physiology. Without mention of these researches, any eulogy of the British Association is incomplete.

This body has been instrumental in establishing the important science of preventive medicine upon a secure basis. In 1835, it urged upon the Government the necessity of establishing registers of mortality, showing the causes of death on one uniform plan in all parts of the kingdom, as the only means by which general laws touching the influence of causes of disease and death could be satisfactorily deduced. The general registration of births and deaths was commenced in 1838.

With such a record of its usefulness in the past, the public will welcome the emphatic opinion of the President, that the British Association exhibits no symptom of decay.

It is unnecessary in these notices to give a detailed account of the transactions of the meeting since they have been so fully reported by the daily and weekly press. It will suffice to notice a few subjects of special interest.

The German Reichsanstalt.—The endowment of scientific research in this country has been for some time past the dream of the student of Nature. At a previous meeting of the Association Professor Oliver Lodge pleaded the desirability of a National Physical Laboratory for the United Kingdom. A committee was appointed at that time to consider its formation but little has as yet been done.

With the view of renewing interest in the movement, Sir Douglas Galton read a paper in the physical section, on the *Physikalische Technische Reichsanstalt* at Charlottenburg. This institution came into existence through the influence of Helmholtz, and it was much aided by the munificence of Werner Von Siemens. The establishment consists of two divisions; the first is devoted to pure research, and is at the present time engaged in various thermal, optical, electrical, and other physical investigations. The second division is employed in operations of delicate standardising, to assist the wants of research students, such as distillation, electrical resistance, electric and other artificial light agents, pressure gauges, recording instruments, thermometers, pyrometers, tuning forks, glass, oil-testing apparatus, viscosity of glycerine, &c.

Dr. Kohlbrausch, who succeeded Helmholtz, is now president and takes charge of the first division. Professor Hagen, the director under him, has charge of the second. There is a professor in charge of each of the several sub-departments. Under these there are several subordinate posts, held by men selected for past valuable work.

The general supervision is under a council consisting of a president, who is a Privy Councillor, and twenty-four members, including the president and director. Ten of the other members are professors or heads of physical and astronomical observatories connected with the principal universities in Germany. Three are chosen from leading firms in Germany representing mechanical, optical, and electrical science. The others consist of scientific officials connected with the Department of War and Marine, the Royal Observatory at Potsdam and the Royal Commission for weights and measures. The council meets in the winter to examine the research work done during the past year, and for laying out the programme of research for the following year.

Professor Fitzgerald, in the discussion which followed the reading of the President's paper, suggested that the extension of the standardising work performed at the Kew Observatory might to some extent supply the want of organisation and research in this country. The Section has appointed a committee to reconsider the question of a national laboratory.

Doubtless there is a great deal to be said in favour of the endowment of research. At present there is certainly no monetary encouragement for those who devote themselves to pure investigation. In fact, the expense involved in experiment tends to impoverish. It is true that those who devote themselves to this work are generally of that nobility of mind that regards the discovery of truth as the

one reward, but how many would-be investigators are debarred from beginning or continuing the pursuit by the necessity of having to provide for their own existence and that of others, and how much knowledge may have been lost to the world. A national laboratory would relieve those that are entrusted with any branch of research from the struggle for existence, and the absence of the instruments necessary for their investigations. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that difficulty has often been the keenest spur of genius. Take it away from the investigator. Have discoveries made to order. Will the work then done be of that fine quality which in the past has built up the fabric of science or will it degenerate into *fin-de-siècle* mediocrity?

Seismological Phenomena and Earth Tremors.—At the meeting, the reports of the committees on Earth Tremors and Seismological Phenomena were both brought forward, the former by Mr. Symons, the latter by Professor John Milne. The most remarkable fact of the report on Earth Tremors was perhaps the delicacy of the instrument used in the observations. It is such that “an angle equal to that subtended by a cord one inch long at the centre of a circle 1000 miles in radius could be detected.”

The report on Seismological Phenomena in Japan contains a catalogue of 8331 earthquake shocks recorded in Japan between 1885 and 1892, giving full particulars of the centre and area of disturbance. By means of this, the approximate weights of each can be determined. An interesting feature of the report is that which deals with the rate of propagation of earthquake shocks from Japan to Europe. Before the main earthquake shock there are preliminary earth tremors, these occurring about ten seconds before the former. They are transmitted to Europe, but they seem to either travel more quickly than the main shock, or else take a shorter route. The main shock travels at about 3000 metres per second. It is supposed that the earth tremors travel at 8000 to 11,000 metres per second, or else perhaps they pass through the earth instead of round it. If their route is through the earth something may be discovered concerning the interior of the earth. The Earth Tremor and Seismological Committees have now determined to unite under the latter name.

The Determination of the Simple or Compound Nature of a Gas from its Spectrum.—An important feature of the meeting was the discussion opened by Professor Schuster as to whether the

simple or compound nature of a gas could be decided from its spectrum. Since Argon and Cleveite gas exhibit a double spectrum, it has been supposed by some, and notably by Professors Runge and Paschen, that the two spectra show that the gases are mixtures.

Professor Schuster is, however, of opinion that gases that show two spectra are not necessarily compound. He called attention to the cases of sodium and mercury vapours and oxygen, in which the absorption spectrum differs from that of the luminous vapour, and maintains that the difficulty is not explained by supposing dissociation to occur, as some substances exhibit three or even more spectra.

Sheet Lightning in India—Iridescent Clouds.—Meteorologists appear to take an increasing interest in the subject of lightning. It is one by no means yet thoroughly investigated. The sub-division of the Mathematical and Physical Section that is devoted to meteorology was opened by a paper by Mr. Eric Stuart Bruce on "Probable Projection Lightning Flashes." An exceedingly suggestive paper was that contributed by Professor Michie Smith on "Indian Thunderstorms." This title might cover a large range of phenomena, but the paper only dealt with one—viz., the sheet lightning that is observed over the sea from Madras, and which is visible night after night for several months in the year. Professor Michie Smith maintains that this sheet lightning is not that species that is merely a reflection of a distant flash on the surface of clouds, but is a real discharge taking place in clouds above the horizon. These discharges, when taking place in clouds high up near the horizon, are sometimes entirely concealed by the clouds below. The Professor has experienced a storm in Madras lasting three hours, during which thunder was continuous without a single flash being visible. He has noticed that these displays of lightning take place almost invariably in the region of comparatively still air, where the sea breeze meets the land breeze. The time at which these displays commence varies with the hour the sea breeze sets in.

The formation of the clouds produced in this region is peculiar, and in Professor Michie Smith's opinion throws light on the phenomenon. Great pillared masses of cumulus clouds ascend nearly vertically to great heights, sometimes to 12,000 feet. He has observed that these clouds are nearly always double; they are, in fact, two clouds of almost identical shape, ascending side by side. He has noticed that the identical discharge is mainly between these two parallel and similar clouds, which are in a different electrical condi-

tion, one being charged positively and the other negatively. The sheet lightning is therefore the equalising of the electrical condition of the two clouds. He considers that the clouds derive their dissimilar electrical condition from the fact that the sea breeze is moist and dustless, therefore negatively charged, and the land breeze very dusty, therefore positively charged.

The Professor has seen the thunder-clouds at Madras bordered with a most brilliant tinge of the brightest of green, red and blue. He thinks this iridescent effect is due to the minute particles of dust left behind as the clouds sink. It appears that the iridescent clouds have been perceived in this country through a darkened glass. It has generally been supposed that the iridescence is peculiar to cirrus clouds which are supposed to be ice clouds, but as Professor Schuster points out, perhaps the effect is, after all, caused by the presence of dust in the upper regions of the atmosphere.

Rainbow Photography.—A beautiful specimen of the application of photography to the illustration of meteorological phenomena is the photograph of a rainbow taken by Mr. William Andrews and introduced to the notice of the Association by Mr. G. J. Symons.

Mr. Andrews describes this rainbow as the finest he ever saw. A peculiarity of it was the brighter or lighter colour of the cloud inside the bow. This is clearly shown in the photograph. Another peculiarity is that the green and violet seemed to be duplicated or triplicated inside the bow. This is apparent in the photograph. The outer bow is also visible. Mr. Andrews secured this interesting photograph by means of a symmetrical doublet-lens, four inches focal length, and an exposure of three seconds.

The Relation of Agriculture to Science.—It is important to the future agricultural prospects of this country to arouse the farmer to the necessity of applying to his operations the principles of science. To consider how this can best be done, the chemical section held a sitting in conjunction with the botanical section. The subject was introduced by Professor E. Warrington, who denounced the present agricultural lecturer as unqualified for this work. He suggested that there should be a board of agriculture who might with advantage set themselves to form an agricultural and horticultural library open to the public, and who might also start an English horticultural journal. He thought that the county

councils should make themselves responsible for local stations and secondary agricultural schools.

The system of having experimental plots like those in Suffolk and Norfolk is useful, and might with advantage be extended. In Suffolk there are two stations, one at Higham and the other at Lavenham. The soils of the two places may be considered to be samples of a large proportion of the neighbourhood. At the former place the soil is thin and light with a chalk subsoil, and at the latter it is of a much deeper loam. At both stations various crops are grown in rotation with various manures, and the results are published annually in a printed report. During the summer there are lectures and demonstrations on the plots.

In Norfolk the organisation of the experimental plot is not so well developed as in Suffolk, and the county is dependent on the kindness of farmers for the use of land on which to experiment.

The Scientific Work of Louis Pasteur.—It is doubtful whether the death of any scientist has awakened such sincere and world-wide sorrow as that of Louis Pasteur. This is not a matter for surprise, since his mission in life was to discover and subdue some of the deadliest foes of suffering humanity—viz., the microbes of disease. While we mourn his loss, we must rejoice that the principles he taught are so thoroughly established; they are now animating a large band of workers who hold out to us the promise that infectious diseases will one day be subjugated if not entirely stamped out. But to gain the acceptance of his views demanded of the great bacteriologist something more than his extraordinary methods of investigation, and he had to combat what was perhaps the greatest opposition that ever confronted the discoverer. The magnificent institute which bears his name is the monument of his victory.

His original work commenced in his investigation of the isomeric crystals of the tartrates and paratartrates of soda and ammonia. These led to his researches on Fermentation. These first lifted the veil from the world of micro-organisms. From the experiments in fermentation he passed to his experimental inquiry into the diseases of the silkworm. This, as is well known, resulted in the salvation of the silk industry in France. Next came his master-work—viz., the attenuation of pathogenic organisms by which he produced a vaccinating virus which caused a mild form of the disease in question. He continued these researches until very near the date of his death. In fact he died at Garches, near St. Cloud, where he had recently gone so as to be near the laboratory for producing antitoxin serum.

Nova et Vetera.

DOCUMENT.

THE document which we are enabled to present to our readers possesses considerable interest at the present time from its bearing on the cause of the abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester, and their companion martyrs recently beatified by the apostolic see. The paper (which is to be found at the Public Record Office, State Papers, Domestic $\frac{V}{251}$) is, as the reader will not be long in discovering for himself, the work of a bitter and unscrupulous enemy of the papacy, and of those holy men who had but recently laid down their lives in support of the divinely appointed primacy of St. Peter's successor. The author's name is nowhere indicated; very possibly the harangue or sermon was, as Dom Gasquet has suggested, the composition of Latimer; the style at any rate is not wanting in the vigour and effectiveness, the tricks of alliteration, the broadness and bluntness and extravagant loyalty of that champion of heterodoxy. The work of an enemy though it be, the harangue is of great value as setting before us in their true light the circumstances which led to the execution of the abbots. The "high treason," the "spiritual treason" for which they suffered is shown to have been none other than their final rejection of Henry's claim to the headship of the Church in England. Of that the writer makes no secret; they suffered "in the cause of the Pope"; for "the like cause," as St. Thomas of Canterbury, and deserved, as he did, the honours of canonisation. Incidentally we learn a great deal about the life and character of the martyrs, especially of Blessed Hugh Cook, of Faringdon, abbot of Reading, and his devotedness to the Holy See. His last speech, wherein he made known the secret belief and aspirations of some prelates lately dead who had seemed to favour the royal assumption of the supremacy, is of particular interest as affording us a glimpse behind the scenes in that period of fear and duplicity. No attempt has been made, save in a few rare words, to retain the spelling of the original; nor has it been thought advisable to suggest, except in a few obvious cases, such words as are missing or undecipherable in the document. To render it more useful to

the reader head lines have been introduced and a few notes added to throw light on one or two points which seemed to call for explanation.

[State Papers, Domestic $\frac{V}{251}$.]

OF TREASON.

. . . . unki [nd] Now I am right sure unto the most all true Englishmen that divers great of much honesty and good learning have ing unto their most bounden duties (?) as well in their books as in their sermons very plentifully set forth not only the nature of treason but also the rewards and ends of traitors, whereby that subjects and servants might learn to know their faithful obedience unto their sovereign lord and king, finally thereby to eschew the most abominable and the most detestable offence of treason. But inasmuch as neither the love nor the fear of Almighty God, neither the inestimable goodness of our most dread sovereign lord the king's highness, neither yet the and godly admonitions of such virtuous preachers and writers can stir or remove men's hearts from I think it expedient and necessary they can do no more than dogs ever [*even?*] to bark at such unshamefast [*vi*] le traitors. Certainly if since I am unmeet or y willing to set about [NB. *about seven lines are here illegible*] [p. 2] but whereas power lacketh I trust. . . . Is it not a thing much to be marvelled at abbot of Reading could find in his latter days to play the traitor saying in h treason conspired and so little (thanks be to God) came to eff [*ect*], seeing so many traitors and so few that escaped condign punishment. Certainly methinketh if [*he*] had never known traitor in his life neither yet had known what treason had meant, the goodly and fruitful examples that were drawn out of old ancient histories and so plentifully set abroad both by preaching and writing, might have been a sufficient warning to him or to any

OF THE TREATMENT DUE TO TRAITORS.

other that had intended to play the traitor as he hath done. If such examples had not been a fair warning to him then might the end of his old friend Montacute and the end of Henry that was Marquis of Exeter been reasonable warning for treason. If the sight (?) of those traitors' deaths could not have made him ref [*lect*] methinketh [*the*] very love that he ought to have [*towards?*] the king's majesty for receiving of so great [*favours at hi*] s hands at

the least should. . . . If all these worldly . . . stony hearts . . . yet methinketh . . . of our . . . [*five or six lines are missing here*] . . . [p. 3] have perceived that treason was never pl [ayed] . . . heavenly Father's planting, wherefore it shall be plucked up by the roots and thrown into the fire, so God forbid that any such plants should be p [lan] ted within this realm. There have been too many such planters of late in England, but thanks be to the Lord they have had as fair . . . of their planting as he hath had of his; but they that in very deed went always earnestly about to preach unto him (?) the very plant of our heavenly father's

THE ABBOT OF READING'S OPINION OF HERETICS.

planting, such I say could not he abide, but ca [lled] them heretics and knaves of the new learning, whereas it had been better for him virtuously to have studied new learning rather than old treason.

HIS LOVE OF RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The abbot was ever a great student and setter forth of St. Benett,* St. Francis, St. Dominic, and St. Augustine's rules, and said they were rules right holy and of great perfectness. Surely I cannot . . . how high and how holy their rules were. This I am right well assured of that they . . . that have named themselves to b . . . rules that have been as arra [*nt traitors as ever*] were in England and reckoned the . . . abbot of Glastonbury and the p [rior of Colchester]† . . .

ST. BENET'S RULE.

Verily if St. Benet . . . fellows kept no better . . . in this world than . . . will scarcely believe it . . . (p. 4) their good rule keeping . . . for if these . . . (they were of St. Benet's rule), m . . . suffered awhile they would have p[erished?] of misrule. For they thought if they [*could have*] brought their traitorous purpose to p[erfection to have] ruled the roast, but God hath provided even for [*them*] as he hath and will provide for all traitors; and as he sendeth a shrewd cow short horns, even so he sendeth for the most part great traitors little power. W[eneth]? the abbot of Reading and the abbot of Glastonbury or the prior of Colchester with their pestilent and cankered counsel to overthrow a prince most

* Or Benedict.

† The writer seems to have known but little of the third of the abbots, and speaks of him throughout as *Prior* of Colchester.

puissant and most prudent? wen they that God will permit or suffer any such thing to happen to his elect servant King Henry VIII? Nay, nay, although God suffered them to play the traitorous knaves yet He will (as He hath alway done) defend, preserve, and deliver his chosen prince [out] of the hands of all his enemies, and w assuredly as for the most he h brought all traitors to the end. [P]ray you what a sort had they go[*tten*] stents? Ye shall hear, I trow, beggars brats as seldom hath Oynyon a priest with old duncy (?) priest of Reading, Bachelor blind harper (p. 5.) grey friars in Reading, Manchester a priest of [*th*] e Savoy, Doctor Holyman,* one of the abbot of Reading's promotion who hath escaped and flown of late, but more of the king's goodness than of his deservin[*gs*] with divers others much like unto them ts For like will to like go; the devil when he danced with the collier, even such a ragman's roll of old rotten monks, rusty friars, and pocky priests, as seldom hath been heard of. But scalding horses be good enough for scabby squires. Sure I think if a man should rake hell an whole year together there could not such sort be found again. I cannot tell where a man should rake such a sort except he raked the bishop of Rome's court. Marry! there it might fortune a man to rake as good a company as these were; but what a loss shall that lozell the bishop of R[*ome*] their grand captain have of such a [*crew of*] deacons as these were which were so true [*unto the*] see apostolic, so true I say unto that of Rome, and so false unto their sovereign king? Hath not the whole college of [*cardinals* ?] trow ye, great cause to [*honour these* ?] valiant Romish knights [*for their* ?] readiness to lose both [*goods and life for the honour* ?] of our most blessed mother [*the Holy Roman Church* ?] the honour of Peter and [*if he*] (p. 6) keep heaven's gates (as men say he doth), [*will he not*] somewhat regard these traitors when [*they go to him*] considering the good service that they [*have rendered*] unto the see of Rome. It will make many beware to put their fingers into the fire any more, either for the honour of Peter or Paul, or for the right of the Romish Church. No, not for the pardon of the pelting Pope himself though he would grant more pardon than all the Popes that ever were have granted. I think verily our Mother, holy Church of Rome, hath not so great a jewel of her own darling Reynold Poole† as she should have had of these

* Dr. Holyman, monk of Reading Abbey; he was made Bishop of Bristol in the reign of Queen Mary; died in 1558, and was buried at Hanborough, near Woodstock, whither he had retired during the schism.

† Cardinal Reginald Pole, or Poole, as it was evidently pronounced.

abbots if they could have conveyed all things cleanly. Could not our English abbots be contented with English forked caps but must look after Romish cardinal hats also? Could they not be contented with the plain fashion of England but must counterfeit the crafty cardinality of Reynold Poole? Surely they should have worn their cardinal hats with as much shame as that papistical traitor Reynold Poole weareth [*his*] Poole be a Cardinal walking his , and had there (amongst such) a little estimation, yet I da[re] no more shame than he doth. [*Nor coul'd*] [*I*] wish him more shame, (p. 7) wretchedness and

OF CARDINAL POLE.

more misery than to live in Rome as the right servant of Antichrist, even the servant of that abominable bishop of Rome? who is utterly despised of all honest men for his usurped ungodliness. Could a man wish Reynold Poole any more shame and wretchedness, I say? Nay verily; for the longer he liveth the more is his shame; the more his shame is the greater is his misery. Wherefore to such rank traitors I would rather wish long life with eternal shame than sudden death with short misery. For I think it the more pain of both whereof traitors are most worthy; certes, I verily believe that God hath ordained long life to that abominable traitor Reynold Poole to this end that the flood of shame shall continually flow over him because of his unspeakable treason wrought against the good prince Henry VIII., our sovereign lord and king; yea, is it not to be thought, trow ye? that he that will work treason against the prince of his native country of whom he hath received so many great benefits will stick greatly to work a little treason against the tripled crown too, if he were well proved? saving that the pyperly pope of Rome himself is an arrant traitor to the faith of Jesus Christ; and that he loveth so well to foster and nourish up traitors in his house; I would else, I say, su[rely] give him warning of that traitor (p. 8) is master ringleader of all traitors; but draff is good enough for swine and such a man is meet for such a master, "Like master like man." A traitor to the master and a traitor to the man, a goodly couple forsooth! God give them joy together. Could not our popish abbots beware of Reynold Poole, of that bottomless whirlpool, I say? which is never satiate of treason? I dare say that the same Poole would never be full enough for treason, though all the abbots in England, all the rascal monks, and all the friarish romanists and all the papistical priests (as I fear me there be a great many more than all dogs bark at) would enter into him, and yet nevertheless be they all drowned in treason as many as

meddle with him. And thanks be to the Lord, it hath been, is now, and ever shall be, impossible for them to escape the danger thereof; that is to say the most vilest and shamefullest death which is the worthy reward of treason. Almighty God forbid that ever so royal so virtuous and so gracious a prince as Henry VIII., our most dread sovereign is, should dangerously run into the ravening hands of such a sight of merciless monks, false friars, and uncharitable chanons [*sic*] and other fools of feigned religions whose cloisters have alway crept yet hitherto and swarmed, I say, with treason. But blessed be Jesu, the high (p. 9) treason that hath been a long time hidden in hugger mugger among, as they were called, religious men, by the wasting of their close walls* their treason escapeth a

SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES.

pace out of their cloisters and like as God of his inestimable goodness hath already purged a great part† of the pope-holy cloisters that were within this realm, even so I trust he will send a general purgation to cleanse and purge all the crooked cloisters that be yet standing both of traitor and treason. For surely as long as the Romish cormorant's cabins remain within this realm, I mean religious houses, there will be as much false packing of popery among the pope-holy peddlars as ever there was; yea, and Judas' occupation shall be as freshly and as well wrought as it was in Christ's time. For think ye that Judas could be dead as long as the abbot of Reading was on live? or think ye that a couple of traitors could be dead as long as the abbot of Glastonbury and prior of Colchester was on live? Now surely it is to be thought that if these abbots had been born when Christ was betrayed that they should have put Judas out of his office, or if Judas and these abbots were now on live, they were able to teach him a point of treason for his (p. 10) learning. The children are so well noosed in treason. Judas hanged himself for the shame of his treason, but for as much as these traitors could not be suffered to hang themselves, there were certain appointed that did take the pain to hang them all, and by my troth, saving charity, hanging was too good for them, for falsers subjects or falsers servants were there never unto their prince than were these traitors before said. Full well and full truly prophetes the great emperor Christ of such servants whereas he saith: "No man can serve two masters at once," these poperly

* *I.e.*, the destruction of their enclosures.

† This was evidently written before *all* the monasteries had been suppressed — *i.e.*, some time in December 1539, or early in 1540.

monkish traitors practised the contrary, for they called alway the king's grace in the face of the people *master*; but they thought nothing less than that, but whomsoever they called master they

THE ABBOTS SERVED THE POPE.

served the bishop of Rome, as did right well appear both by their own words and their own deeds; namely of the abbot of Reading; for he was not ashamed to say that he would pray for the pope's holiness as long as he lived, and would once a week say mass for him, trusting that by such good prayers the pope should rise again and to have the king's highness with all the whole realm in subjection as he hath had in times past; and upon a *bon voyage* would call him pope as long as he lived. Was not the king's grace greatly beholden to this traitor, trow ye? And was not this, think ye a proper prayer? I cannot tell how this prayer will (p. 11) be allowed among St. Benet's rules, but this I am certain and sure of that it standeth flatly against our Master Christ's rule, and in that I report me to the parchment (?) whether it be so or not. More over, was not the mass, trow ye, as prettily abused here, of the abbot's part as to pray for the preservation of one worse than an infidel; to pray for one, I say, that alway hath, doth, and intendeth to the utmost of his power, stoutly and stubbornly to withstand Christ's holy doctrine? a man that doth, as much as lieth in him, to persecute, yea, and utterly to destroy the setters forth of Christ's glorious gospel? What other thing should the abbot pray for here, (as methinketh), but even first and foremost for the high dishonouring of Almighty God, for the confusion of our most dread sovereign lord, King Henry VIII., with his royal successors, and also for the utter destruction of this most noble realm of England. Well, I say no more, but I pray God heartily that the mass be not abused in the like sort of a great many more in England which wear so fair faces under their black cowls and bald crowns as ever did the abbot of Reading or any of the other traitors. I wot neither the abbot of Reading, the abbot of Glassenbury [*sic*], nor the prior of Colchester, Dr. Holyman nor Roger London,* John Rugg nor Bachelor Giles, blind Moore nor Master Manchester, the Warden of the friars, no, nor yet John Oynyon the abbot's chief councillor, was able to prove with all their sophistical arguments that the mass was ordained for any such (p. 12) intent or purpose as the abbot of Reading used

* D. Roger London was a monk of Reading, and Professor of Theology in the Abbey; he was imprisoned with his abbot in the Tower. His fate is not known.

it*; but if all these traitors beforesaid had reverently and diligently perused Paul's epistles they should have feared [*to put*] the mass unto such vile use as it was. Briefly, St. Paul saith, *Whosoever eateth or drinketh this unworthily* (meaning by the supper of the Lord the holy sacrament of the altar), *receiveth it to his own damnation*. This was a terrible sentence (as methinketh) to all honest and godly hearts, but, alas! what thing can move or stir wilful, sturdy and stubborn traitorous hearts? Verily nothing; for God taketh his grace and mercy from them and leaveth clean destitute of all goodness, and utterly giveth them up to their wilful mischief; then Belzebub, the busy inquisitor of such prayers, prince of this poisoned world and captain of all traitors, forsaketh them not but with a ligene [*line*?] even at an ynh (?) leadeth them at large unto the pit's brink of treason, the next door to damnation. Whereas all the masses and dirges that ever hath been or shall be said, nor yet all the pardons [*sc. indulgences*] that ever was or shall be granted (though the bishop of Rome would set a new pardon barrel abroad for them) shall redeem them again neither would [*I*] advise any traitors, be they never so popish, to bear themselves bold upon purgatory. [*a line has been obliterated here.*] For in mine opinion purgatory is no place for them, but rather hell, except that God of his goodness be more merciful unto them than they were faithful or true unto (p. 13) their sovereign lord and king. Neither let traitors th[*ink*] that the blood supping bishop of Rome shall have them now in his handling in his popish purgatory for treason as he

REGULAR OBSERVANCE IN THE ABBEY.

was wont to have them for leaving of his matins unsaid, or for breaking silence in cloisters, or for eating eggs on Friday. For truly . . . another manner piece of work. They had been [*better*?] never to have said matins in their lives, better to have cried as loud as they could in their cloisters, and better to have eaten eggs on the Friday, yea, and flesh on Good Friday too, than for to have played the traitors as they have done. These doughty deacons thought it both heresy and treason to God to leave matins unsaid, to speak loud in the cloisters, and to eat eggs on the Friday, but they thought it but a trifle to betray their sovereign lord and king. Alas for pity! so heavily they stumbled at straws and how lightly they leapt over blocks. Is it not to be thought, trow ye, that forasmuch as these trusty traitors have so valiantly jeopar-

* This seems to give us a clue to one point at least of the examination to which the abbot was subjected before his condemnation.

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dised a joint for the bishop of Rome's sake, that his holiness will, after their hanging, canvass them, canonise them I would say, for their labours and pains? It is not to be doubted that His Holiness will somewhat look upon their pains as upon Thomas Becket's, seeing it is for like matter. If His Holiness would canvass them till they stunk again it were good enough for them.

HUGH COOK, ABBOT OF READING.

But now to the abbot of Reading whos name w[as] (p. 14) *Hugh*] Cook. He had thought to have dressed the Pope's dinner, but the King's grace bade him to a breakfast for h[is] labour that cost him the setting on. The saying is that he is but an ill cook that cannot lick his own fingers. Surely Hugh Cook had been better to have gnawed off his nails by the hard stumps than to have licked his fingers as he licked them; but sweet meat will have sour sauce. This was Cook ruffian that scalded the devil out of his feathers. I

HIS INFLUENCE IN HIS ORDER.

fear me Hugh Cook was master cook to a great many of that black guard that he was of himself (I mean Black monks), and taught them to dress such gross dishes as he was always wont to dress; that is to say, treason; but let them all take heed; for undoubtedly his dishes be so devilish, and his meat so mischievous that as many as taste thereof shall not only find them hard of digestion but also marvellous unwholesome for any honest man's diet. Whosoever tasteth thereof

THE BENEDICTINE MARTYRS.

taketh a surfeit as hath well appeared by them before rehearsed; for some of them have taken such a sore surfeit thereof that cost them their lives, and likely there is no physician that can help them of that disease but only God and the King, who will be very loath to show their cunning upon such traitorous patients except that they may perceive and see great token of amendment, which could never be found yet hitherto in the abbot of Reading. For think ye (p. 15)

ABBOT COOK AND THE KING.

that the abbot of Reading deserved any less than to be hanged what time as he wrote letters of the king's death * unto divers gentlemen in Berkshire considering what a queasy state the realm stood in at that same season? For the insurrection that was in the north country was scarcely yet thoroughly quieted; thus began he to stir

* In 1537 rumours were spread abroad that Henry VIII. was dead.

the coals *à novo*, and to make a fresh roasting fire, and did enough if God had not stretched forth His helping hand, to set the realm in as great an uproar as ever it was ; and yet the king's majesty of his royal clemency forgave him. This had been enough to have made this traitor a true man if there had been any grace in him. Ah ! Hugh Cook, Hugh Cook, nay, Hugh Scullion rather I may him call, that would be so unthankful to so merciful a prince, so unkind to so loving a king, and so traitorous to so true an emperor. The king's highness of his charity took Hugh Cook out of his cankerous cloister and made him, being at that time the most vilest, the most untowardest, and the most miserablest monk that was in the monastery of Reading, born to nought else but to an old pair of bawdy, beggarly

INTIMACY WITH HENRY VIII.

boots, and made him, I say, ruler and governor of three thousand marks by the year. His grace hath also favourably suffered him to pass the time in his grace's company at shooting, but more of the king's goodness than of his deserving, but the traitorous abbot (p. 16) shot alway at a wrong mark ; the abbot knocked his arrow awry and

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.

gave his bow too much bent when he thought to shoot at the king's supremacy ; but short shooting lost his game. Well, beside all this the king's majesty hath most lovingly and most gently called him for the most part his own abbot ; which words (as I take them) signify a marvellous inward affection and singular love that his grace bare toward him. Certainly these were such words (as methinketh) that, and if the hard-hearted abbot had never received other benefit at his grace's hand but even all only [*alonely*] those kind and loving words, spoken of so noble and so faithful a prince, they had been enough to have turned his traitorous heart from treason to truth. But neither the king's loving and kind words, neither yet his plentiful princely deeds, could enter within his sturdy stomach. Neither would I speak all this if he were on live to move his churlish, cruel heart for I think verily that treason was so rankly rooted within him that it had been impossible to have plucked it out from him. The more the king's grace loved him, the more he hated the king ; the more his highness went about to show himself a merciful prince, the more the abbot went about to play the part of an arrant traitor. Thus always rendered he unto the king's grace for his inestimable goodness nothing else but plain traitor (p. 17). Was not this a proper merchant ? Verily a man had need to beware, as the old

saying is, how he claweth a churl for surely he will in his hand. This is but an homely old saying; but it is an homely old true saying, and such an homely saying is good enough for such an homely faced traitor as he was. Full rightly in my conceit did he hit the nail on the head that said: *Trust not him that his coat and his hood is sewed together*: meaning, as I take it, by the w[ord] the lubbers of religious houses which were wont to be, yea, and yet be too many in very deed, if it pleased God and the king, that have their coats and their hoods sewed together in such sort. I would to God if it been his good pleasure that the same new-fashioned garment had never come into old England; for surely since their incoming hither this realm hath had no more rest than the waves of the sea, which be tossed and turmoiled with every blast of wind. But like as of late by God's purveyance a great part of their religious hoods

BENEDICTINES AND THE PAPACY.

e already meetly well ripped from their crafty coats, even so I hope the residue of the like religion * shall in like sort not long remain unripped; for truly, as long as they be let run at riot thus, still in religion they think verily that they may play the traitors by authority, and that no man should. . . . (p. 18) Black were their eyes for so doing. I speak not this of malice but I would to God that I might rather speak it of malice than of truth; but verily the matter is so evident, so plain, and so full of verity, that no man is able to prove the contrary. What a sight of arrant traitors have been fostered and nourished up from time to time in our carrion cloisters; what an exceeding sight of treason have been wrought and kept close within the corners of the cloisters from time to time. How many noble princes have been destroyed by the treason wrought by the Popish spirituality? What crafty conveyance, what busy legerdemain hath been played by the spirituality, as they were called? Who hath had more trial of such juggling spiritual treason than hath had our sovereign lord the king's highness in his time? Let men say what they will, but surely in my judgment there was never

SPIRITUAL TREASON.

traitor yet that might be compared to the spiritual traitor, nor treason half so cleanly conveyed nor half so w[ell] wrought as spiritual treason.† Read the Chronicles and then shall ye thoroughly perceive

* Religion—i.e., that religious order the late "traitors" were of—viz., the Benedictine.

† A valuable acknowledgment of the sort of "treason" of which the abbots were accused.

my saying to be undoubtedly true in this behalf. For when as they by the lack of time and place might not at all times play the traitor thoroughly themselves, yet have they found the means alway to bear a privy swing in temporal treason (if there had been (p. 19) any stirring) alway in readiness to furnish up every man's treason, so that they were ever one; as for an example, what heaps of treason have been hidden in hucker-mucker by these arrogant abbots that suffered of late, what treason hath been stirring this twelve y[ears] * but they have had their share in it; and yet how long it was or that it came to light. What a sight of privy treasonmongers had they alway working, and so few of them known till the nest was all scattered? What need I say more in this matter? Is not their treason manifest to all the world? Is it not known throughout the realm what cause the churls had to play the traitors so egregiously as they have done? Had they any other cause but that the king's grace was

THE ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY.

too good unto them? For had not John † Whiting that was abbot of Glastonbury, trow ye, great cause, all things considered, to play so traitorous a part as he hath played, whom the king's highness made of a vile, beggarly monkish merchant governor and ruler of seven thousand marks by the year? Trow ye this was not a good pot of wine? Was not this a fair almose [*alms*] at one man's door? Such a gift had been worth, grammery, to many a man. But John Whiting having alway a more desirous eye to treason than to truth, careless laid apart both God's goodness and the king's and stuck hardly to the Bishop of Rome and the abbot of Reading in the quarrel of the Romish Church. But the . . . (p. 20) . . . a Whiting indeed, alas what a stony heart had . . . Whiting to be so unkind to so loving and beneficent a prince, and so false a traitor to Henry 8th, king of his native country? And so true I say unto that cormorant of Rome. If John Whiting had looked well about him he should have perceived that the great benefit which he had received came neither of Rome nor yet of Reynold Poole, but ever only of God and the king, who hath bestowed many things in his time even in the like sort; that is to say, great benefit as it hath unhappily chanced, upon great traitors. Thus hath he, good prince, been many times deceived. But now his grace seeth well enough that all was not gold that glistered, neither all his true subjects that called him Lord and Master, namely of Balaam's asses with the bald

* *I.e.*, since 1528.

† *Sic* by error for *Richard*. The writer seems to have known less of Glastonbury and Colchester than of Reading.

crowns. But I would now heartily wish that as many as be of that traitorous religion that those abbots were of at the next oystres [?]* have their bald crowns as well shaven as theirs were. I trust that the bald crowns whose consciences be not cumbered nor spotted with the running scall of treason can bear without offence my saying in this behalf well enough, and as for the residue, whose bald crowns have the wild worm of treason wandering and creeping about their busy brains, I fear them not an inch. I shall cause my railing razor so sharply to nip them by the bare that of fine force it shall constrain them [p. 21] no less to winch and kick than an horse that is rubbed upon the gall. But let them not spare to winch or to kick as well as they can, for I trust to be defended and kept from the danger of

WARHAM, STOKESLEY, STANDISH, ETC.

their heels for hurting well enough. This would have made Dr. Stokesley that was Bishop of London,† the Bishop of St. As[aph] that is dead, the old Bishop of Canterbury ‡ that was, and the old vicar of Croydon, to have winched and kicked vengeably if they had lived till this time. For the abbot of Reading at the day of his death, lamenting the miserable end that he was came unto, confessed

ABBOT COOK'S LAST SPEECH.

before a great sight of people and said that he might thank these four privy traitors before-named of his sore fall ; as who should say that those three Bishops and the Vicar of Croydon had committed no less treason than he had done. Now, good Lord for his Passion ! who would have thought that these four holy men would have wrought in their life times such detestable treason ? chiefly the old

BISHOP STOKESLEY.

Bishop of London, who, as I think, had as great cause to be a true man unto the king's majesty as ever any man that lived. For what time that the old Bishop of London by the laws of this realm had incurred the danger of the *premunire*, that is to say the loss of all the goods he had, and his body at the king's pleasure, yet the merciful prince, who charitably seeketh rather in every man a godly amendment (p. 22) than for every offence extreme punishment, freely for-

* The word is difficult to make out ; *oyer* seems to be intended = assizes.

† Stokesley, Bishop of London, died in the early autumn of 1539, and was buried at St. Paul's, September 14. Dr. Standish, O.S.F., Bishop of St. Asaph, died in August 1535.

‡ Archbishop Warham, Cranmer's predecessor.

gave him altogether, taking neither penny nor halfpenny of his substance ; neither yet punished he his body, whereas his grace might justly have done them both,* surely men cannot marvel enough at the falsed [*i.e.*, *falsehood*] of the foresaid old Bishop of London. There were a great many that thought that sugar would scarcely have melted in his mouth, but they were all deceived, as many also thought ; yet I pray you how vehemently hath he both preached and disputed against the Bishop of Rome's usurped power. What invincible arguments hath he brought forth and declared in the face of the whole world for the behalf of the king's supremacy, and yet he nevertheless an arrant Papist in his heart, continually wagging a pair of false chaps [*? or chawes*], which plainly appeared by the confession of Hugh Cook late abbot of Reading. Had it not been pity but this traitor must have been so sumptuously buried ? Were it any pity at all that all such traitors were taken out of their graves and burnt in the example of all other men ? Well, I can say no more but he died in time, or else I fear me he should have stretched a rope, as well worthy he was. I cannot think the contrary, but the old Bishop of

FRIAR FOREST.

London when he was on live used the pretty medicine that his fellow friar Forest was wont to use, and to work with an inward man and an outward man ; that (p. 23) is to say, to speak one thing with their mouth and then another thing with their heart. And surely a very pretty medicine for popish hearts ! But it worketh madly for

ABBOT COOK AND ROYAL SUPREMACY.

some of their parts. Gentle Hugh Cook, by his own confession, used not the self-same medicine that Friar Forest used but another much like unto it, which was this. What time as the spirituality were sworn to take the king's grace for the supreme head immediately next under God of this Church of England, Hugh Cook, receiving this same oath, added prettily in his own conscience these words following : of the temporal Church, saith he, but not of the spiritual Church. Alas, this was a base shift, but it is a world to see what lusty legerdemain these sophistical traitors can find to juggle with God and the king and their own conscience. I beseech God heartily that these have no more learned those pretty juggling lessons of friar

* The Bishop had incurred the penalty alluded to by professing certain brethren and sisters at Syon Abbey under the form approved by Pope Paul II. The bill containing the charge against him was presented by the Attorney-General on May 29, 1538. See Father Gasquet's "Suppression of the Monasteries," II., 236.

Forest and Hugh Cook, as it is to be feared greatly there be which have prated in the face of the people against the Bishop of Rome's usurped power as stoutly as ever did Doctor Stokesley that was bishop of London. Well I say, if there be no more, then may all true Englishmen heartily rejoyce that the realm is so well rid of a sight of juggling traitors. But in the mean season may not those traitor's kinsfolk and friends really rejoyce to see them bring their old grey heads to be buried in the bloody . . . [*pool?*] of treason? Well, I can say no more, but I . . . [*pray God*] (p. 24) to forgive it their souls. For surely if they had lived to see the day that they looked after the king should have known more of their mind. God hath done very much for them to fetch them out of this world; but surely God hath done much more for the king and the whole realm for the fetching of them hence, for else this gen [*?*] might have grown to a stalke. But thanks be to God that it is as it is; and undoubtedly this may be a fair warning to the king's grace forever, how he trusteth either white coat or black coat, forked cap or round cap, broad crown or narrow crown, any more for these traitors' sakes. Alas, and oft alas! to whom might the king's majesty trust, if such as his grace bringeth up from beggary and maketh of nothing somewhat will be false unto him. What unkind wretches be they that fall so far from their own kind that brute beasts would be loath to do the like. What unhappy caitiffs be they! Is there any prince, Christian or heathen that . . . cumbered with his own countryfolk as our most dear sovereign lord is? Is there any prince living that giveth less cause to his subjects to be false than our most dread sovereign does? And be there any subjects again in the world that less consider all this g[*oodness?*] than we do? Shall we call ourselves Englishmen? Nay, nay, we shall rather be called devilish men. And questionless, to all false subjects hell is ordained to be their land and realm, whereas is nothing else but fire, (p. 25) brimstone, weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, devils to their kinsmen, and devils to their countrymen, and Lucifer to their king and captain. If traitors would call unto remembrance before their devilish enterprise the end of their treason, then can I not think that they would be half so quick to perform their ungracious purpose. Of treason, God knoweth, followeth a peck of troubles, prove it who that shall. I could be longer in this matter as concerning the troubles of treason, but I will briefly pass over them because the experience thereof both hath, doth, and shall evermore declare the pangs of treason more plainly than I am able to do, and that know traitors well enough.

WILLIAM MOOR, THE BLIND HARPER.

But now amongst all let us talk a word or two of William Moor, the blind harper. Who would have thought that he would have consented or concealed any treason against the king's majesty, or who could have thought that he had had any power thereto? Who can muse or marvel enough to see a blind man for lack of sight to grope after treason? Oh Moor, Moor, hadst thou so great a delight and desire to play the traitor? Is this the mark that blind men trust to hit perchance? Hast thou not heard how the blind eateth many a fly? Couldst not thou beware and have kept thy mouth close together for fear of gnats? Hath God endued thee with the excellency of harping, and with other goodly qualities also, to put (p. 26) unto such a vile use? Couldst thou have passed the time with none other song but with the harping upon the string of treason? Couldst thou not have considered that the king's grace called thee from the wallet and the staff to the state of a gentleman? Wast thou also learned and couldst thou not consider that the end of treason is eternal damnation? Couldst thou not be contented truly to serve thy sovereign lord, King Henry VIII., whom thou before a great many oughtest and wast most bound truly to serve? Couldst not thou at the least, for all the benefits received at his grace's hand, bear towards him thy good will? Hadst thou nought else to do but to become a traitorous messenger between abbot and abbot? Had not the traitorous abbots picked out a pretty mad messenger of such a blind buzzard as thou art? Could I blazon thine arms sufficiently although I would say more than I have said? Could a man paint thee out in thy colours any otherwise than traitors ought to be painted? Shall I call thee William Moor the blind harper? Nay verily. Thou shalt be called William Moor the blind traitor. Now surely, in my judgment, God did a gracious deed what time he put out both thine eyes, for what a traitor by all likelihood wouldst thou have been if God had lent thee thy sight, seeing thou wast so willing to grope blindfold after treason (p. 27) when thou becamest a traitorous messenger between the traitorous abbots; and when thou tookest in hand to lead traitors in the trade of treason, then was verified the sentence of our Master Christ which saith: When the blind leadeth the blind both shall fall into the ditch. Thou wast blind in thine eyes, and they were blind in their consciences; wherefore ye be all fallen into the ditch, that is to say into the high displeasure of God and the king. I wiss Moor, thou wresteth thine harp strings clean out of tune and settest thine harp a note too high when thou thoughtest

to set the bawdy bishop of Rome above the King's majesty. If the day had come to pass that was looked after there should have been cheer by note, for blind Moor should have made them all merry with piping and harping. There should have been "Pipe Moor, Dance Pope, and traitors lead the trace." But after mirth cometh sorrow. Thanks be to God, the bishop of Rome hath danced himself clean out of the dance in this quarter among all true subjects. He danced here too long for some of our parts; he and his traitorous adherents played their pageant here meetly well and kept for a long space no small rout, but rather a mischievous proud popish porte. Wherefore the (p. 28) old saying is meetly well come to pass on them, for pride went before and shame came after; though

ABBOT COOK'S HOMELY SAYINGS.

they looked for the contrary. The abbot of Reading's mouth was always full of these pretty sayings: "this world will not last ever," and "a dog shall have a day"; and even in the like sort he might have said that a traitor shall have a day too. And traitors' days and dogs' days likely for the most part be all one: for dogs be hanged and so be traitors. To such ends, thanks be to God, come all they that look after such fair days as they looked after. Came not the abbot of Glassonbury, I pray you, and the abbot of Reading, John Rugg, and John Oynon to a fair end? Surely look after such days as they looked after who that will, and he shall be, as sure as God is a God, that he shall see the like days that they have seen, or else worse, if worse may be. Verily it had been great pity but that those rank traitors should have been weeded out in time, or else perchance the weeds might have overgrown the corn. And it had been also as great pity but that they should have died the death that they died, for else can I scarcely believe that ever they would have ended their lives with half so much honesty as they [*did*]. When these traitors were arraigned at the bar (p. 29), although

THE CONFESSIONS OF THE ABBOTS.

that they had confessed before and written it with their own hands that they had committed high treason against the King's majesty, yet they found all the means they could to go about to try themselves true men, which was impossible to bring to pass. But John

BLESSED JOHN OYNON'S SPEECH.

Oynon not only denied it but also stoutly and stubbornly withstood it even to the utmost, evermore finding great fault with justice and

oftentimes casting his arms abroad said, "Is this justice, to destroy a man guiltless? I take it between God and my soul that I am as clear in this matter as the child that was this night born." Thus he prated and made a work as though he had not known what the matter had meant, thinking to have faced it out with a card of ten. And in this sort he held on even from the time of the arraignment till he came to the gallows. Marry then, when he saw none other way but one his heart began somewhat to relent. Then both he and his companions with their ropes about their necks confessed before all the people that they had committed high treason against the king's most noble person, but namely Oynyon, for he said that he had offended the King's grace in such (p. 30) sort of treason that it was not expedient to tell thereof. Wherefore he besought the people not only to pray unto God for him, but also desired them, or some of them at the least, to desire the king's grace of his merciful goodness to forgive it his soul, for else he was sure, as he said, to be damned. And yet not an hour before a man that had heard him speak would have thought verily that he had been guiltless of treason. By this men may evidently perceive and see how and in what sort God worketh for the preservation of our most dread sovereign lord, King Henry VIII., and for the wealth and prosperity of this most noble realm of England. God's work in this point is notably to be marked, for where a batch of traitors had closely kept and concealed by long time in their traitorous hearts rank treason against the king's grace, God caused, I say, not only their treason to be disclosed and come abroad in such a wonderful sort as never was heard of, which were too long to recite at this time, but also dead men's treason that long lay hidden under the ground; that is to say, the treason of the old bishop of Canterbury, the treason of the old bishop of St. Asaph, the treason of the old vicar of Croydon, and the (p. 31) treason of the old bishop of London, which four traitors had concealed as much treason by their lives' time as any of these traitors that were put to death There was never a barrel better herring to choos[*se among*] them all, as it right well appeared by the abb[*ot of*] Reading's confession made at the day of who I daresay accused none of them for malice nor hatred. For the abbot as heartily loved those holy fathers as ever he loved any man in his life need no[*t no*]w take heed how subtly goeth about to work [*an*]y tr[*eason*] craft, seeing that the treason that long lay hidden under the ground and at the last riseth up again and cometh to light. This is a thing not a little to be marvelled at. Let every man therefore look well about him. Let every man lay his hand upon his heart. Let every

man, I say, circumspectly look or he leap ; yea, let every man spit in his hand and take better hold, and let no man think the contrary but treason will out at length by hook or by crook, it is of such a nature. The nature of treason is incessantly to walter, wamble, and boil about and heart [*in*] such an extreme sort that it will have an issue (p 32) issue out known shall undoubtedly be stopped with the sharp plaister of the most bitter, most terrible, and most shameful death that can be devised. Now be traitor who that will, he knoweth his end. Let us therefore now heartily pray one with and for another that those consciences which be infected, spotted, or defiled with the pestilent sore of treason, that God for his dear Son's sake Jesus Christ, will cast [*i*]t clean out of our smack and plentifully to fill hearts and refresh with his inestimable grace and goodness which continually will so h . . . by work within us and frame our hearts to so good a fashion that undoubtedly we shall not only be always prone and ready with diligence to fulfil his holy commandments, but to show ourselves faithful, true, and obedient subjects unto Henry VIII., our most dread sovereign lord and king. Thus shall his grace for rejoice highly in the lord to see the trusty and faithful obedience of his loving commonalty ; his royal heart shall then be replete with Christian mirth, which shall be a great length to his life, which God preserve. Then shall his grace joy in us his true servants and we again in our most dear, loving prince. Then shall the God of mercy and peace, to whom be all honour and continually among us. Then shall little prosper and go forward wish themselves who Finally nothing shall be commodities come of fa God for his mercy stable to endure for ever.

FINIS.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Exploration of Mount Kina Balu.—The splendid monograph in which Mr. Whitehead has given to the world the results of his exploration of Kina Balu is the fruit of several expeditions, extending over four years. His various journeys brought him into more intimate relations with the natives of Borneo than fall to the lot of many Europeans, and he has described his experiences in these pages with spirit and animation. Along the rivers which form the principal channels of communication with the interior the distribution of the population follows the course of the stream. The estuaries are occupied in some parts of the coast by Brunei, in others by Bajows, who prepare fish and salt to be bartered for jungle produce. This they obtain from the Orang Songer, or river men, who act as intermediaries between them and the inland tribes, occupying the rivers as far as the first rapids, which their prahus are too heavy to pass. On the alluvial plains they grow sago and swamp rice, while the Muruts, who live above the rapids, cultivate hill paddy, by cutting and burning fresh tracts of jungle every year. They hunt pigs and collect jungle produce, in search of which they are sometimes absent in the forest for months together, returning with loads of gums, rattans, wax, and india-rubber. Still further inland, where the rivers have become trickling streams, live the true denizens of the forest, the wild men of the woods, who build their nest-like dwellings in trees. Further north, the Bajows, or sea-gipsies, who have settled on the coast, take the place of the Brunei, and the lowland and hill Dusans that of the other inland tribes as their customers. The coast tribes are Mohammedans, and those of the interior pagans. Among the Muruts head-hunting is practised, according to the author, as a superstitious rite, the heads being sought on special occasions, such as a death, a marriage, the rice harvest, or any other crisis in tribal or family life, in order to propitiate the spirits. Markets, in the native dialect called tamels, are held at different places once a week, and are centres for the distribution of news, as well as of commodities. At Abai, on the coast, the Tampassuk Bajows obtain salt and salt-fish in exchange for rice, cooking-pans, and native cloth. At the next tamel among the lowland Dusans, the fish and salt are bartered for jungle produce, such as rattans, sun-hats made of bamboo, baskets, and tobacco, all obtained in turn from the Kina Balu tribes.

The Interior of Borneo.—The Bornean rivers are infested with swarms of mosquitoes, and the woods with leeches, which attach themselves in dozens to every living thing. Among the strange creatures encountered are the fish called “Jumping Johnnies,” organised for land locomotion by the development of the pectoral fins into a substitute for feet, while the tail acts as a spring to jump with, enabling them to hop about freely on the mud at low tide. Mr. Whitehead’s work is a valuable contribution to natural history, as he discovered a large number of new species among birds, reptiles, and mammals. The Dusun villages consist each of a long house, sometimes eighty feet in length. It is divided longitudinally, with a gallery, or common room, running from end to end at one side, while the other is partitioned off into sleeping rooms for the several families, sometimes as many as fifteen. The people are full of superstitions, and the encounter of some of even the common birds is considered of sufficiently evil augury to deter them from proceeding on an expedition. A curious instance of the fulfilment of an omen is recorded by Mr. Whitehead. When out in a boat with them, he saw them much disturbed by the falling of some drops of rain from a clear sky, which they declared to be unlucky and a token that people were being killed. This proved unfortunately to be true, as some of the English officials and their escort had fallen in a fatal affray with the natives in the immediate neighbourhood. The author spent many months in exploring the slopes of Kina Balu, in the years 1887 and 1888, reaching the summit, after a long but not very arduous climb, on February 11 of the latter year. The constant drenching rains rendered his sojourn on the mountain an ordeal to health and spirits which only the enthusiasm of a collector rendered tolerable.

The Island of Palawan.—He also spent some time on the island of Palawan, to the north of Borneo, making several excursions into the interior. With a length of 275 miles, and a width varying from six to twenty-six, it is the creation of the volcanic ridge which forms its backbone, and from which the surrounding alluvial plains have been deposited. The coast is occupied by the Mohammedan Sulu islanders, who compel the Dusuns of the interior to trade through them with the Chinese merchants. The latter make large profits, despite this form of blackmail, on which the middlemen live without any exertions of their own.

Across China to British Burma.—Mr. Morrison, in his brightly written book, "An Australian in China" [London: Horace Cox, 1895], records his experiences during a remarkable journey from Shanghai to Bhamo. Unarmed, without knowledge of the language, and without companion or interpreter, he made his way in native dress and with a couple of native coolies as carriers, for 1500 miles by boat up the Yangtse-kiang, and for another 1500 miles overland, by the great highway across the mountains of Yunnan. He encountered nothing but civility on the road, and the entire journey was performed at a cost of less than £20 sterling, including the purchase of a Chinese outfit. By travelling with greater economy, he might, he says, have reduced his expenses to £14. Among the facilities for travel in China is its complete banking system. There are banks in every town, and money may be sent to the west of Chunking by draft, by telegraph, or by parcel. The native post will not only transmit, registered, any amount of bullion, but will engage to make good any loss sustained in transit. The cheapness of gold in Yunnan is a source of actual profit to the traveller, as it is produced in sufficient abundance there to be bought at a reduced price in silver. The ratio between it and the latter metal, which at Shanghai is 35, falls in Yunnan to 25 or 27, at which rate it may be bought in hundreds of ounces. The only risk in its export from the interior is in its overland carriage to the seaport, but as far as the traveller could learn, none had been lost on the way. Mr. Morrison finds much to praise in the Chinese character, and all his comparisons with the Japanese are to the advantage of the inhabitants of the Flowery Land.

The Bruges Ship Canal.—The projected Ship Canal from Bruges to the North Sea is intended to restore the ancient Flemish city to the position once occupied by her as the *entrepôt* of Europe. Her present state of decay, with a population of 47,000, of whom from one-quarter to one-half are said to subsist on charity, is a melancholy contrast to her prosperity and importance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the products of the East and West were exchanged in her markets, when her inhabitants numbered 200,000, and 20 foreign courts had ministers resident within her walls. The two canals, one debouching at Ostend, and one at Sluis, which connected Bruges with the North Sea, cannot float the giant ships of modern commerce to her quays, and Antwerp has grown as she has declined. By the construction of a Ship Canal, she now hopes to recover some measure of the prosperity that ebbed from her when the overland

trade route to India was superseded by the discovery of that round the Cape of Good Hope. Its dimensions are to be those of the Suez Canal, and its length to the port of Heyst about fourteen miles north of Ostend, six miles. By the agreement between the Belgian Government and MM. Coiseau and Cousin, the contractors, the total cost is estimated at 39,000,000 francs, something over $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. The concession is for a term of seventy-five years, during which the company will be entitled to the dues and charges for loading on a scale approved by the Government, while the navigation of the canal itself is to be free. The works will include the construction of a new port at Heyst, chosen for this purpose in preference to Ostend, in consequence of the greater depth of water. It will be on a scale to accommodate the largest Atlantic steamers, and will be protected by a breakwater stretching over two miles out to sea. It is believed that many vessels trading between Belgium and America will call here to land passengers, who will thus escape the sixty miles of river navigation between Antwerp and the sea. At Bruges itself docks and wharfage will be constructed on a scale commensurate with the hoped increase in trade, which is looked for especially from the Ghent and Charleroi districts, lying nearest to the new waterway. The latter is but part of a system of improved means of communication, as Antwerp is to have new quays covering 2,000 metres at Hoboken; Ostend improvements in her port accommodation; Ghent new locks at Terneuzen, and Brussels the conversion of the Willebroeck Canal into a navigable waterway, enabling vessels of large draught to reach it from the Scheldt, and bringing the latter into connection with the canal system of Eastern France.

Antarctic Exploration.—The interest recently aroused in the exploration of the Southern Polar regions is manifested by the preparation of two expeditions to this quarter of the globe. The first, commanded by Dr. Cook, a member of the first Peary expedition, was ready to sail from the United States at the end of October, 1895, and would have started a year earlier, had not the loss of its leader's vessel, the "Mirandao" so crippled his resources as to necessitate its postponement. It is composed of two ships, of no more than a hundred tons each, carrying a party of sixteen, of whom six are scientifically qualified. Dr. Cook proposes to reach Erebus and Terra Gulfs during the southern summer, and there to disembark for scientific research during the ensuing autumn and winter,

unless open water should be found, in which case the sea voyage would be prosecuted as much farther as possible. A hut is to be built as the headquarters of the party, who are to be joined by their ships at the end of a year. The second expedition is about to be despatched by the German committee for Antarctic exploration, which has allotted close upon a million of marks for its expenses. It will consist also of two ships to sail southwards from the Kerguelen Islands, and to be absent three years.

The Jackson-Harmsworth Expedition.—Some interesting details of the first results of the Jackson-Harmsworth expedition were communicated to the Royal Geographical Society at the evening meeting on November 11th. In consequence of the detention in the ice of the “Windward,” which had conveyed the expedition to Franz Josef Land, she was able to bring home the records of their experiences during the first winter. Enough had already been done to alter materially the existing maps of the region, which was found to differ in many respects from the delineation of it by its Austrian discoverers. The territory, for instance, of Zichy land, as marked on Payer’s map, has no existence, and Mr. Jackson marched over its imaginary site on sea-ice all the way. He now attaches the name to a group of islands with bold outlines rising to some height to the north-east of his farthest, in $81^{\circ} 19' N$. Alexandra land he resolves into two large distant islands to the west, and Oscar land into a small archipelago to the north-west. Richt-hofen Peak, described in detail by Payer, was not to be found at all by the English explorer, although encamped within a mile of the spot.

The Key of the Pacific.—The volume [Westminster: Constable, 1895] in which Mr. Archibald Colquhoun summarises the prospects of the Nicaragua Canal is no less full of general than of special interest. His account of the country itself is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of it, and we regret that it should be marred by sneers at religion, and the approval with which he records the neglect of its practices by “the more intelligent section of society,” the men. The pages that follow tend to show that the civic virtues do not thrive on the soil thus cleared of all spiritual culture, and that secularism, in Central America as elsewhere, can only result in the negation of morality. The physical geography of this Isthmian land

is rendered a subject of practical importance from its bearing on the question of inter-oceanic communication. The great inland sheet of water, 105 miles in length by some 40 in width, is here the controlling feature of the situation, providing, as it does, 54½ miles of navigation ready-made out of a total of under 170. The lake system lies in the western portion of the great interior basin, with an area of about 300 miles in length by 100 wide, having for its ramparts on the west and east respectively, the Coast Range, following the line of the Pacific at a distance of ten or twelve miles, and the Cordillera, retreating to a distance of some fifty miles from the opposite ocean. The western range is the principal theatre of volcanic action, so energetic in Nicaragua as to have suggested its native name of "Cuscatlan," or "the land that swings like a hammock." One of its active volcanoes, that of Omotepe, forming an island in Lake Nicaragua itself, was in eruption as recently as June 19, 1883, when it poured out a copious stream of lava, the outburst being accompanied by violent shocks of earthquake. The lake system is, indeed, obviously located in a deep volcanic rift, containing, in addition to the main basin, those of Masaya and Managua, at a level of some twenty feet higher, and terminating in the deep-water inlet of Estero Real, an arm of the bay of Fonseca on the Pacific. The three lakes were originally in communication with this ocean, forming part of a land-locked gulf shut out from the Atlantic by the Cordillera of the Andes. The subsequent elevation of the lake basin enabled its surplus waters on the east to pierce their way through the ranges on that side, reaching the ocean in the present affluent, the San Juan river. The marine character of Lake Nicaragua is shown by the survival there of several sea-water species, including a shark, the *eulamia nicaraguensis*. This inland sea, where all the navies of the world could lie at anchor, would, in the event of the completion of the canal, become a busy centre of the world's commerce, and Granada and Rivas, the somnolent towns on its shores, would assume the position of first-class ports on the line of transit from ocean to ocean.

Resources of Nicaragua.—The Nicaragua route, as Mr. Colquhoun points out, instead of being a mere thoroughfare of trade like those of Panama and Suez, would open up a country whose potential riches only require facilities of transit for their development. Gold mining is already a productive industry throughout much of its extent, though only the most primitive machinery can be employed, and all the rivers carry down gold in greater or less

quantity. The forests, which cover a large area of the State, are veritable treasure-houses, containing products no less precious. The mahogany-tree grows to an enormous size, producing timber not only valuable for cabinet-making, but also for ship-building, for which it is said to be superior even to oak, as it is difficult to ignite, free from dry rot, and devoid of acids which corrode metals, and are consequently unsuited for naval construction. Cedars also grow to a very large size, and rosewood, *lignum vitæ*, and many other varieties of useful and ornamental woods are found in the greatest profusion. Palms are represented by numerous varieties, producing oleaginous nuts much prized in commerce, and india-rubber, produced by the *Siphonia elastica*, a tree growing to 50 or 60 feet in height, furnishes an important industry, though threatened with extinction from the wastefulness with which it is practised. Among agricultural products are sugar, coffee, cacao of the finest quality, and bananas, exported in large and increasing quantities from Bluefields on the Mosquito Coast.

Prospects of the Canal.—Of the possibilities of the canal Mr. Colquhoun seems to us to take too optimistic a view, as his own summary of the works required points to formidable difficulties of construction. The principle proposed is a novel one, consisting of raising the levels of the rivers by throwing great embankments across the valleys, thus forming a series of artificial basins and channels of slack-water navigation, while leaving a comparatively small portion of the waterway to be excavated. Thus an extension of 142 miles would be given to the expanse of water at the summit level of 110 feet above the sea, by blocking the eastern valleys at Ochoa and other points, and that of the Rio Grande at La Flor, converting the submerged tracts into arms of the lake. The descent from the summit to the ocean level will be accomplished by three locks at each side, while on the Atlantic slope the work of excavation will be still further reduced by closing the outlets of lateral streams so as to create the San Francisco and Deseado basins. The dam at Ochoa, closing a gap between two steep hills, will have a length of 1250 feet on the crest, and 650 feet of abutments, with a height of 61 feet, a thickness at the top of 30 and at the bottom of 500 feet. The La Flor dam will be on a still larger scale, as it will span a valley 2000 feet across, with a depth from crest to foundation of 170 feet. A large number of minor embankments will have to be constructed, those in the San Francisco valley alone having an aggregate length of 17,835 feet along the crest. Of the total length of 169 miles,

26 $\frac{3}{4}$ will be in excavation and 121 in basins; but the cost of the colossal dams will probably far outweigh the economy in digging and blasting. The difficulty of constructing that at Ochoa is comparable to that of impounding the Chagres, as proposed at Panama. Since it is impossible to divert the San Juan from its bed, the method proposed is that of dumping down masses of rock from an aerial suspension-bridge over its bed, and then leaving them to find their own slope. The second piece of heroic engineering required for the new canal is the cutting of the Great Divide, or eastern watershed between the littoral plain and the river valleys. Here a gap has to be made in the hills for a length of nearly three miles to a maximum depth of 328 and an average depth of 141 feet. The third main obstacle to the construction of the canal, rendering its possibility still problematical, is the difficulty of creating a suitable port at Greytown, where the entrance to the harbour has almost silted up from the deposit of the rivers, which reach it with a sluggish flow. Taking all these circumstances into account, it is not wonderful to find that the report of the Nicaragua Canal Commission, of which an abstract was published by the *New York Herald* of November 25, declares that it is neither advisable nor practicable to build the canal on the data at present available. The mode of construction proposed for the dam at Ochoa is condemned as insecure and liable to damage from floods; the entrance to Greytown harbour is pronounced to be, as planned, wrongly placed, and the provisional estimate is raised to 133,500,000 dollars, over £27,000,000 sterling, or nearly double the sum previously named. The recommendation of a fresh survey will postpone for some years the execution of the scheme, and the report is editorially described in the *New York Herald* as "a staggering blow to the project in its present form."

State of the Works at Panama.—Mr. Colquhoun prefaces his chapters on the Nicaragua scheme by a brief survey of the abortive attempt at Panama, where, according to the official accounts published in July 1890, out of a total expenditure of over £52,000,000 sterling, but £28,000,000 has been spent in actual work, the remainder having been laid out in various forms of bribery and corruption. In order to save the concession, which would otherwise have expired in October 1894, the construction was recommenced at that date by the *Compagnie Nouvelle du Canal de Panama*, formed with a capital of £2,600,000 under the auspices of M. Eiffel. When

the author visited the Isthmus, just after the resumption of work, he found some 400 to 500 men employed principally on the Culebra cut. He inclines to the opinion that though some valuable work has been done, an outlay of £40,000,000 would be required to complete the canal, supposing that the floods of the Chagres and the nature of the rock at Culebra do not render it impossible.

Notices of Books.

Four English Humourists of the Nineteenth Century.

Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in January and February, 1895. By WILLIAM SAMUEL LILLY, Honorary Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. London: John Murray. 1895.

IT is a matter for sincere congratulation that there is such a brilliant Catholic lay-author, in England, as Mr. Lilly, and, in *Four English Humourists*, we find him in his brightest and pleasantest vein. On such a topic, his style is, and ought to be, lighter than in some of his other works; yet, even here, he has plenty to say about subjects of very great seriousness and depth, and he does not forget to give us a glimpse of his dear old friends the *Upanishads*, and the *Pâli Dhammapada*. Perhaps a light reader may find Mr. Lilly's marvellously extensive reading and his exceedingly retentive memory almost irksome, as they lead him constantly to make quotations from other authors, with such introductions as "I should like to read to you a few profound words of that profound thinker Schelling"—"Lord Acton has well observed"—"in Hegel's striking phrase"—"Kant, in a pregnant passage,"—"Goethe, as I remember has admirably expressed this"—"Flaubert says, justly"—and so on; but if this may appear to some wearisome, and to others a trick of style, to many it will be welcome as affording splendid illustrations, from the works of great writers, of the subjects under consideration.

The four humourists selected for these lectures are Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, and Carlyle, whom he classifies respectively as Democrat, Philosopher, Poet, and Prophet. Admirers of Charles Dickens will not entirely agree with the following criticism:—"I stand aghast at the inane insignificance of most of his personages, at the vapid vulgarity of most of his incidents, at the consummate crudity of much of his thought, at the intolerable ineptness of much of his diction. He was constantly talking—at least in his later years—of his art. He seems to me one of the least artistic of writers." When critics begin in this fashion, it is pretty certain that something particularly good is coming—after excessive praise, or dispraise, one always waits patiently for the "But" in criticism; just

as a German stands waiting for the verb in a long sentence—and in this case eulogies soon follow for poor Dickens. “We may regard him as a literary Teniers.” “What more touching than the picture of Little Nell?” “Yes; in burlesque, in caricature, and in pathos, Dickens has not been surpassed in our literature.” “He has done more than any other man of our day for the idealisation of common life.”

In his lecture on Thackeray, Mr. Lilly keeps fencing with Taine, Taine considered Thackeray a misanthrope. Mr. Lilly says he was nothing of the kind. “He saw with equal clearness, and painted with equal vividness, the truth and incorruptness, the purity and goodness, the love and pity which exist side by side with the abounding evil.” “Pungent as his satire often was, the man was overflowing with the milk of human kindness.” In the last page of this essay, Mr. Lilly says:—“Thackeray, after all, was a doubter, then, does any one object? Well, there is a fruitful doubt, as there is a fruitful grief. Of Thackeray we may surely say:—

Perplexed in faith, but pure in deeds,
He slowly beat his music out:
There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds.

In a sense, all this may be true: in another sense, it is untrue. In which sense will this passage, coming from the hand of a celebrated Catholic writer, be generally understood?

On the vexed question of George Eliot's unbelief, Mr. Lilly has much to say. She had “a singularly religious mind.” “The great Theistic idea was the source of her deepest and most powerful inspiration.” He tells us, moreover, that George Eliot apprehended “the stern truth that we cannot escape from the consequences of our past selves,” as vividly as any “Buddhist with his doctrine of Karma.” In his opinion *Adam Bede* is “the high-water mark of her genius.” His praise of her work is almost unmeasured. “She is the great tragic poet of our age. She was to her day and generation what Euripides was to his.”

The enigma of Carlyle's creed comes in for as much discussion as George Eliot's. In both cases Mr. Lilly does all he can to be charitable and to act upon the adage *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. It may surprise some people to learn that “St. Thomas Aquinas taught” “the essential, the vital beliefs of Thomas Carlyle,” “six centuries ago;” and that “Carlyle's political and social doctrines,” “like his Theism and his ethics,” “may be found, in substance, in St. Thomas Aquinas.” This is a question on which we have not

space to enter, except to say, what we have already said of something else, that, in a sense, it may be true, and that in another sense it is not true. Possibly that Mr. Lilly's enthusiasm for Carlyle occasionally may carry him a little further than we are quite prepared to follow him; but this we can say, that no criticism on that great writer has ever interested us more than his.

It is a canon of literature that a writer ought not to wander too far, or for too long a time, from his subject. In Mr. Lilly's lecture of thirty-eight pages on George Eliot, we have to read eight before we come to George Eliot; for nine pages, again, in his lecture of thirty-five on Thackeray, we lose sight of Thackeray; but it must be admitted that every word in those lengthy passages, in which George Eliot and Thackeray are not mentioned, or at most are scarcely mentioned, has a bearing, often an artistic and a masterly bearing, on its subject. And now, having respectfully criticised the critic, we have only to add that his *Four English Humourists* will considerably increase the lustre which already surrounds his literary reputation, and to thank him for the pleasure which his remarkable book has given to us.

Œuvres de Saint François de Sales.—Edition complète, Publiée par les soins des Religieuses de la Visitation d'Annecy. Tome VI°. Les Vrais Entretiens Spirituels. Annecy: J. Nierat, 1895.

THE sixth volume of the important and definitive French edition of the works of St. Francis of Sales, now in course of publication by the Sisters of the Visitation at Annecy, under the editorship of Canon Benedict Mackey, O.S.B., contains the discourses or conferences given to the first Mothers of the Congregation, widely known under the name of the *Entretiens spirituels*. Unlike the great works which have been reproduced in the preceding five volumes, these Conferences were not written by St. Francis himself; but they seem to have been taken down as they fell from his lips with the utmost fidelity and exactness, by certain highly qualified Sisters, some of them gifted with marvellous powers of memory. Many of them were delivered in the very beginnings of the Institute, when it was housed in what is still called the "Galérie," at Annecy. Hither the holy bishop would come, accompanied by his chaplain, and, either at the grille, or, in summer, seated "under the trellis-work near the fountain in the orchard," utter the deepest spiritual truths in his own characteristic fashion. His hearers at first were very few—only Madame de Chantal and one

or two more; but in a year or two they had become much more numerous. As new houses of the Visitation were founded, at Lyons, Paris, Chambéry and other places, these Conferences, carefully copied, were sent round everywhere, by the special care of St. Jane Frances herself. They covered every point of the religious life and of regular observance.

It was not till 1629—seven years after the holy doctor's death—that the *Entretiens* were printed. Perhaps, if St. Jane Frances had had her own way, they would never have been printed at all. In their original form—that is, in the manuscripts which passed from house to house—there were many passages which seemed too intimate and too familiar for publication. The saint's exposition would be interrupted to reply to some ingenuous question, to console some Sister who naïvely laid bare the secrets of her conscience, or to address St. Jane Frances directly. The holy foundress would have kept them for the Visitation alone. It is true that we gather from her letters, as early as 1624, that she had the idea of allowing them to appear in print in some shape or other. But nothing was really done, until, in the spring of 1628, she hears that a “pirate” has got hold of the precious writings, and that Peter Drobet, of Lyons, has actually published a volume under the title of *Les Entretiens et Colloques spirituels* of the Blessed Francis of Sales. Except that this publication offends by printing passages never meant for the public eye, and that it is full of mistakes, it does not appear that it was very unlike the text we now have. Indeed, it is in many respects a good deal more lively and vivid than the carefully edited work that has taken its place. For the energetic foundress did her best to buy up and destroy every copy of this unauthorised venture, and, in 1629, there appeared, with the help of various Jesuit Fathers, *Les vrais Entretiens spirituels*. It is this work, reprinted over and over again, which is now so well known, and to which Canon Mackey dedicates this volume.

Canon Mackey well says, in his exhaustive and most interesting Introduction, that there is no book which so well deserves to be called the “Spirit of St. Francis of Sales” as this one. “Between it and his other works,” he says, “there exists the same difference as between a man's portrait and a photograph taken without his knowledge; the former may show more dignity, but the latter is more natural, more winning and quite as life-like.”

The great value of this new edition of the *Entretiens* lies in the Preface, in the inclusion of whole Conferences, and many passages of Conferences, never before printed, in the carefully critical text, and in the notes of the editor.

The edition of 1629, issued under the auspices of St. Jane Frances herself, has not been interfered with. The twenty-one Conferences of that edition appear in this edition also, without alteration or addition. All the new matter has been printed either as *variantes* or in the Appendix.

Some of the new "readings" given at the foot of the page are of very great interest. Indeed, they are more than mere *variantes*. We have, for example, the well-known anecdote about St. Francis himself—how, when a scholar, he began to go about with his head bent on one side, in imitation of a fellow-student whom he admired as a saint. In M. Hamon's "Life of the Saint" (vol. i. p. 56) Dom Jean de St. François is quoted as stating that the holy Doctor used to relate this of himself as having taken place when he was a student "at Paris." But in the passage printed by Dom Mackey from the "Colloquies," we have in the saint's own words the statement that it happened at Annecy—"Estant jeune écolier en ceste ville" (p. 141). Then there are the anecdotes of the Capuchin Father (p. 133), and of the two Carthusian "Generals," with their contrasted characters (p. 236), the charming passage on Our Lady with the Infant Jesus (p. 243), the curiously Salesian expansion of the illustration drawn from "barber and surgeon" at the beginning of the Conference on *Aversions* (p. 286), and the striking eulogium of Louis of Granada's "Sinner's Guide" (p. 316).

There are many interesting notes. The identification of Pierre de Villars, Archbishop of Vienne, with the "Great Doctor" whom the Saint cites as an illustration of heroic obedience, in Conference XI. (p. 197), is a happy example of successful research.

There is at the end of this volume a "table of correspondence" showing at a glance the MS. and printed sources of every portion of each Conference, which must have cost infinite trouble to prepare. There is also a good glossary of archaic words; and the print and paper are the same as in foregoing volumes—that is to say, of the highest degree of excellence.

The Origin and Nature of Man. By S. B. G. MCKINNEY.
London: Elliot Stock, 1895.

THIS small book devoted to the consideration of so large a subject consists of two chapters; one entitled analysis and the other intuition. We read the first chapter with much pleasure and satisfaction. The author therein shows himself to be acquainted with some of the more recent advances in embryology and other

biological matters. He argues soundly and well against the absurdity of seeking to explain the mystery of life by means of minute particles of matter, such a one serving as "an organic unit, or a biophor, or a plastidule, or a mitella, or a pangene, or some other minute accumulation of molecules possessed of the primary vital forces and capable of producing a complete man. As soon as one word is found to be an empty shell a new one is produced, and the student is compelled to learn each succession of terms," so that "the cell threatens to become a biological Tower of Babel."

In his contention against such merely materialistic pretences at explanation he makes play with some of the recent terms introduced into embryology in an amusing manner. In his travesty of such explanations of the origin of the individual man in the germ-cell, he tells us that "the spongioplasm and the hyaloplasm of the protoplasm rock the cradle of its nucleus by their spontaneous amœboid movements, until the sleeping man within the nucleus hears the cry of koryoleinesis, and awakes to an appreciation of all the wonderful mitoses he has to undergo, and, in his struggle for development, employs his achromatic spindle to arrange the chromasomes so as to form the monaster preparatory to the metakinesis in which the chromasomes are drawn along the fibres of the achromatic spindle into the two separate groups of the dyaster in order to prepare the way for the formation of the daughter nuclei and the production of the man by the anabolism and katabolism of the keimplasma."

After having read this amusing, yet really serviceable chapter dealing with matters biological, we proceeded to the second chapter (on intuition), hoping therein to find put forward, in a popular and convincing manner, those fundamental intuitions which distinguish man's intellect from all inferior psychical capacities and for ever bar the way to the possibility of his development from brutes by a mere natural evolution. Great then was our surprise and disappointment to meet with five and fifty pages of rhetoric and rhapsody, as unlikely to influence the judgment of any rational man as it is certain to try his patience severely. We spare our readers any quotations from this second chapter, no facts of which seem to us capable of affording either edification or amusement. To us it has been simply painful.

Nature versus Natural Selection, an Essay on Organic Evolution. By CHARLES CLEMENT COE. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

WE have here a very copious and very elaborate book, in the production of which the author has taken great pains, but the result is sadly disappointing and unsatisfactory. This appears to us to be due to the fact that the writer is not an expert in the science of which he treats and relies almost entirely on deductions drawn by himself from the writings of others, quotations from which are so numerous that there are few pages which do not contain more than one. Thus it is a work which is very tedious to read, while its arguments are often not easy to follow.

The volume is divided into three sections, termed "books." The first of these is devoted to the consideration of the question: *Is transmutation of species by natural selection possible?* The second asks: *Can natural selection compete with other methods of transmutation?* The third is occupied in seeking *what proofs have been offered of natural selection?*

Each of the three books is subdivided into seven chapters.

Had the author possessed a sufficient acquaintance with biology to serve his purpose, we should most probably have had a series of "difficulties in the way of the theory of natural selection" (including objections of late brought forward by biologists, notably by some American ones), presented for our consideration in a concise form, instead of the series of very diffuse passages of which the whole work consists.

We cannot see that Mr. Coe has brought forward a single new difficulty of any consequence while he has ignored or disallowed those which constitute by far the most formidable arguments against the origin of the human race by natural selection. Indeed, the production is more literary than scientific, abounding as it does in poetic extracts and portions of magazine articles, while many of the author's objections to the views he opposes are rather verbal quibbles than serious arguments.

Nevertheless, amongst many facts, notices of which he has very industriously collected, some may, more or less, serve to reinforce and support arguments long ago brought against "Natural Selection" by other writers.

Thus the objection that slaughter is often too wholesale or else too indiscriminate to allow of any practically selective action in the process, is supported by the following citations:

When the mango fruit is swelling in late April, but still unripe, it is

dreadful to see the utter destruction entailed by a large troop of monkeys. It is not what they actually consume, but the immense quantity which they spoil by recklessly biting hundreds and thousands of unripe fruit and throwing them discarded upon the ground.*

Again, as to fishes, we read :

The excessive voracity of the pike has long been proverbial. No animal substance which it can swallow, and which is capable of being digested, seems to be unpalatable to it. . . . A large pike often takes possession of a particular hole in the bank of a river, from which it issues to seize *any creature* that may pass.

From Belts' "Naturalist in Nicaragua," p. 30, he quotes the following passages about peccaries, which Mr. Coe calls "wild pigs" :

These wari [peccaries] go in herds of from fifty to one hundred. They are said to assist each other against the attack of the jaguar, but that very animal is too intelligent for them. He sits quietly upon a branch of a tree until the wari come underneath ; then jumping down, kills one by breaking its neck ; leaps up into the tree again and waits there until the herd depart, when he comes down and feeds on the slaughtered wari in quietness.

But in this very part of his book, Mr. Coe shows that he does not practically apprehend the position of upholders of "Natural Selection." Thus as to the peccaries, he remarks (p. 62): "It cannot be that in such circumstances the jaguar picks out the worst, or probably has any reason for selecting one more than another." And again (p. 66): "There is no evidence or *à priori* argument to prove that slugs and insects choose for food the less vigorous seedlings."

His non-appreciation of the full meaning of "Natural Selection" is clearly shown by the following passage (p. 106) :

The displacement of one species by another may be due to a struggle between the two ; but it may also arise from an independent effort of the two species to adapt themselves to new conditions in which one species fails and another succeeds.

But the effects of such competition is one form of "Natural Selection."

The same defect is still more glaring when he speaks of the displacement of English watercress in New Zealand by the willow (p. 108): "In these cases there is no abstract survival of the fittest ; both are equally fit apart from the other."

In another place (p. 297) he tells us that :

* Baker : "Wild Beasts and their Ways," vol. ii. p. 359.

So long as circumstances remain unaltered, no such change [specific transmutation] could be wrought by Natural Selection; for so long as the conditions remained unchanged, the organisms which had once been adapted to those conditions would not gain any advantage from any such modification.

But why not? Is it not conceivable that variations might arise which should intensify the fitness for their environment of forms in which such variations came to be?

It would be waste of space to weigh the arguments brought against the doctrine of "Natural Selection" by a writer who has no clear conception of what that asserted process is supposed by its advocates to be. He is an Evolutionist, but not a Darwinist. We heartily agree with him as to the unreasonableness of the theory of "Natural Selection," and we regret the more on this account that in our opposition to it we cannot avail ourselves of his well-meant efforts, but are compelled to say, *Non Tali auxilio!*

We must not, however, fail to call attention to Mr. Coe's somewhat peculiar notions concerning the intellectual qualities of lower creatures.

We should have no reluctance to recognise the psychical fraternity of such lower creatures with ourselves if we could only obtain any evidence thereof. But in what seems to us to be the conspicuous absence of intellect in them, we must decline to affirm a community of faculty where we only find evidence of the most startling disparity. Our author is, however, singularly unexact in this matter, as, *e.g.*, when speaking of the instincts of birds, which he regards, following Büchner, as cases of true intelligence, he says (p. 266): "We must also make some allowance for the experience which each individual has gained during the process of incubation, by which it has itself been developed into life" [!] After this it will hardly surprise our readers to be told that he is disposed to attribute intelligence even to plants (pp. 285-288).

We must also enter our protest against a practice which is becoming far too common. We refer to his use of the word "Marriage" to denote sexual associations between animals (see, *e.g.*, pp. 39 and 149). We do not, of course, expect from non-Catholics recognition of the lofty and sacred nature of the sacrament of matrimony, but to degrade the word "marriage" in the way we have referred to is an insult to any Christian society such as that in which we live.

The short chapter which terminates Mr. Coe's work is entitled, "Organic Evolution without Natural Selection," and we scanned it eagerly in the hope of finding some new and pregnant suggestion, but nothing of the kind is to be found therein. For this, we of

course do not intend to express any blame, disposed, as we are, to think that the origin of species (like the origin and nature of life and the ultimate constitution of matter) is a question which will never obtain a solution acceptable to men of science *as such*. The physicist, as a physicist, seeks very properly for a physical explanation of all sensible phenomena, and is an agnostic as regards super-physical existences and powers. But he is bound to admit, in the absence of sufficient evidence, that there are phenomena for the existence of which he has no solution to offer. His task is then at an end, and the problem he has failed to solve becomes a fit object of study for the philosopher and the theologian.

The World's Own Book; or, the Treasury of **À KEMPIS**. An account of the chief editions of "The Imitation of Christ," with an analysis of its methods. By **PERCY FITZGERALD**, M.A., F.S.A. London: Elliot Stock. 1895.

MR. PERCY FITZGERALD has collected many and very interesting details relating to the printing and publishing of the *Imitatio Christi*. He states that more copies of it, in one language or another, have been printed than of any book except the Bible; from which it obviously follows that more copies of it have been printed than of any other book in the world by a single writer. He tells us that whereas from the invention of printing to the end of the sixteenth century, only a little more than twenty editions of the Bible were published, in the same period at least eighty appeared of the "Imitation of Christ." Caxton, he says, never printed it; but two of our other English fathers of the press, Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson, put it into bold old type. Many early copies, both in manuscript and print, it seems, were entitled "*De Musica Ecclesiastica*," a fanciful and apparently irrelevant name for such a book, and some old English Protestant editions were called "The Christian Pattern." Sixty translations have been made into French; and of various other editions, translations, and adaptations, Mr. Fitzgerald has much to tell us; but we are surprised that, when enumerating so many, he should notice no modern Catholic translation in English, except Challoner's. Probably more trouble was taken in preparing the beautiful and exceedingly popular edition published by Messrs Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., than over any other which has ever been issued. It is no secret that not only all previous English versions, but French, German, Flemish, and Dutch were examined and compared, while Hirsche's Berlin edition of the original was

made the main groundwork. Men of great ability worked, first together, then separately, then together again; and the result was submitted to a well-known Oratorian Father, who bestowed immense labour on it, before it eventually received an Imprimatur by Cardinal Manning. Yet this fine version is not so much as mentioned by Mr. Fitzgerald.

The so-called Analysis consists partly of a review of the "Imitation," partly of selections from Mr. Percy Fitzgerald's favourite passages. He has endeavoured, he tells us, to "attract readers to this great book, by offering *bonnes bouches* and tit-bits." Tit-bits of the *Imitation of Christ*! If this be not enough to make a reviewer sit down and weep, what is?

Adriano Lemmi. Supreme Head of the Freemasons. By Professor DOMENICO MARGIOTTA; or, Remembrances of an Ex-Freemason of the 33rd Degree.

Le Palladisme; Or, the Worship of Lucifer. By DOMENICO MARGIOTTA.

IN spite of the superhuman efforts to conceal their proceedings made by the freemasons throughout the world at this moment, and especially in Italy, the true nature of their teaching and of their influence is by degrees becoming known, and mainly through the conversion of certain leading members of the sect, of whom the author of these books is one of the most remarkable. In England, where freemasonry is only looked upon as a Philanthropic Society, it is almost impossible to make people believe the diabolical nature of their action abroad, or the intense hatred of God which animates every foreign member of the sect. Professor Margiotta was himself admitted into the highest and most confidential councils of the Society. He has exposed the whole in these most curious publications, and given us chapter and verse for each statement, and all the secret instructions given at the different lodges for the carrying out of their infernal designs. But the biography of Adriano Lemmi, the present head of the whole order, is the principal feature of the first book. Born at Leghorn in 1822, of a respectable family, he very soon developed the most evil tendencies, and finally ran away from home and went to France. At Marseilles he committed his first robbery, was caught, convicted, and imprisoned. He, of course, denied the fact later on, and pretended that the sentence referred to another Lemmi, of Florentine origin. But Cavour, who made use of him to foment the Italian Revolution,

doubting, as he well might, the honesty of his tool, asked the French Government to give him an official copy of the trial and of his conviction, which was duly sent to him with the seal of the Imperial procurator. This document, of which Lemmi in vain tried to obtain possession through his friend, Signor Crispi, was bought by Miss Diana Vaughan, herself a recent convert to Catholicism, and a fac-simile of it is given in Margiotta's book.

From Marseilles Lemmi went to Constantinople, where he became a Jew, and after a time, by the recommendation of Mazzini, became secretary to Kossuth, with whom he went to London and America, returning afterwards to Italy, where he was said to be one of the accomplices in the murder of the Duke of Parma and in the attempt to assassinate the King of Naples. Then began his intimacy with Signor Crispi, and together they went to Sicily to stir up the Revolution there, in which they unhappily succeeded, and prepared the way for the arrival of Garibaldi. In the same manner Lemmi sent men into all the principal towns of Italy, while Cavour sent Carletti as head of the secret police; but although a revolutionary, he was an honest man, and having done his best to stir up the people against the Pontifical Government, he owns, in a remarkable report, of which Margiotta gives copious extracts, that the population was decidedly against the movement, and especially against the so-called unification of Italy. He confesses that all the demonstrations, placards, and shoutings in favour of the measure were organised by them, printed at Turin, and spread broadcast over the country; that the plebiscite was a gigantic farce, as hardly any of the people voted at all, and if any ventured to do so according to their conscience, their voting papers were instantly destroyed and others substituted. Then came the invasion of Rome on September 20, under General Cadorna, a violent freemason; Bixio, who had exclaimed in the Chamber of Deputies that "he hoped the Romans would throw the Pope and the cardinals bodily into the Tiber"; and Sirtori, a miserable apostate priest, who had joined the Garibaldian army and been also made a general. The *Rivista della Massoneria Italiana* wrote on this occasion:

The Revolution has gone to Rome to fight the Pope face to face; to assemble under the cupola of St. Peter, the champions of reason; to give gigantic proportions to freemasonry in the very heart of Rome, the capital of the universe. He will attack without mercy all religions which have, for a common point of union, belief in God and in the immortality of the soul.

To this Signor Francesco Crispi added:

"We have come to Rome to destroy this tree of eighteen centuries

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called Catholicism"; and Lemmi issued a circular to all the Italian lodges in December 1887, saying :

The anniversary of September 20, when Rome became the capital of Italy and the Pope's temporal power was destroyed, is the real triumph of freemasonry. It is purely and simply a masonic festival, as it marks the date of the establishment of freemasonry in Rome, which has been the main object of her ambition for many years.

But Lemmi had a formidable rival in Albert Pike, who was the head of the Supreme Council at Charleston in the United States. This man instituted a new order in freemasonry, which he called "The New Palladium Rite," and in which he asserted that the Divinity was double, Lucifer being equal to Adonai, the God of the Christians, only that whereas the latter was the God of darkness and of evil, Lucifer was the god of light and of good. To confirm this view he instituted a chair of dogma for the whole masonic world in what he called the "Holy City" of Charleston. This produced a schism in the masonic camp, Lemmi ignoring Lucifer and insisting on the worship of Satan.

A congress was held at Milan by the freemasons to test this question, and it was at this congress that the destruction of what are called in Italy the "Opere Pie" was insisted upon, as well as the suppression of all religious instruction in the Government schools and the confiscation of religious property belonging to different congregations. In a circular written by Lemmi towards the close of the year 1886, not only are all these things insisted upon, but he concludes with these words :

We recommend our brethren to remember the masonic instructions relative to the cremation of the dead, the necessity of civil marriages and civil funerals; we also insist on their preventing, as much as possible, the baptism of children and to endeavour by every means to throw discredit on everything which bears a religious character.

Writing to Albert Pike on November 21, 1888, Lemmi exclaims :

Help us to fight against the Vatican, you, whose authority is supreme; and if you will only take the initiative, all the lodges both in Europe and America will make common cause with us to crush the Papal monster.

The number of agents secretly employed by Lemmi in every town are often entirely unsuspected by good Catholics. They pretend to be against freemasonry; and one of them, named Roca, lately dead, who was himself an Apostolic Canon, boasted openly that he had in that way deceived hundreds of priests and other respectable persons.

But Lemmi became alarmed at the position taken by Pike, and resolved if possible to supersede him. The first thing needed was money, and that he obtained by the "Tobacco Monopoly," which caused such a frightful scandal in Rome, and which was duly exposed by the *Popolo Romano* of April 5, 1890. But his friend Crispi stifled all inquiry, in spite of the protest of Imbriani. Then came the dissolution of the Chambers by Crispi, and on December 10, 1890, Lemmi again issued a circular to the Italian lodges regarding the elections, asserting that it was absolutely necessary that 400 of the masonic brothers should be returned, "*No matter by what means*": that Crispi had, to obey the Lodge (so-called of "The Tiber"), dissolved the Chambers, so that the new lists of the candidates should be made out at once, that their election might be secured; and he ends the circular with these words: "The Great Orient invokes the genius of humanity, so that all the brothers should labour as one man in this one last effort to disperse the stones of the Vatican, and to construct with them the Temple of Emancipated Reason!" The *Riforma*, Crispi's paper, published at the same time an electoral manifesto, in which Lemmi exhorts all good freemasons to fight steadily against Clericalism, "*the only party against which hatred is a sacred thing.*" The elections of 1890 were the result of these machinations, when all respectable candidates were excluded, and a set of men returned to Monte Citorio who are a disgrace to the whole Italian nation.

On April 2, 1891, Albert Pike, for so long the head of the freemasons throughout the world, expired at Charleston, and was succeeded by Mr. George Mackey. But this man had neither the energy nor the ability of Albert Pike, and Lemmi took advantage of it to forward his claim to become the supreme head of the sect, and to propose Rome as the centre of the order, for which purpose he acquired the first floor of the Borghese Palace, which unhappily was then in the hands of the Prince's creditors. The profanation of this apartment is too well known in Rome, and over a crucifix which was placed head downwards in a closet, Lemmi had the audacity to affix a paper on which was written: "Before leaving this place, spit upon the Traitor. Glory be to Satan!"

But for all this money was wanted; and the three freemasons of high degree (that is, of No. 33) Crispi, Miceli, and Sciarra, agreed to Lemmi's proposal to draw again on the unhappy "Banca Romana." Sciarra had already received 200,000 francs from this source; and Crispi now sent for the Director Tanlongo and insisted on 300,000 more being instantly advanced. In vain Tanlongo remonstrated: Crispi insisted; and the unhappy director was forced to yield.

Carducci also, the author of the famous "Hymn to Satan," was paid for his advocacy of Lemmi's candidature by having an unlimited credit opened in his name in that same bank; and it was found eventually that he had drawn 4,549,150 francs. (This appeared in the official report). Thus was the ruin of so many hundred families brought about, and when an inquiry was insisted upon, as well as the release of Tanlongo, who had been so unjustly imprisoned, the papers which would have proved the guilt of the parties concerned, conveniently disappeared and the whole inquiry ended in a fiasco.

One of the most curious things is the way in which almost the whole of the English press combines to extol the proceedings of Signor Crispi. With his private character, of course, journalists have no business to interfere; but any one who knows Italy and sees year by year the increasing and intense misery of the people, the financial bankruptcy of the whole country, and the Satanic hatred of all religious education and of every species of religion which animates Signor Crispi and his freemason colleagues, remains amazed at the flattering estimate of his Premiership which characterises the most respectable English papers.

Professor Margiotta does not shrink from exposing both his private and public character; and Miss Diana Vaughan, whose recent conversion has given joy to so many, is not behind him in her estimate both of Crispi and his confederate, Lemmi, whose turpitudes and crimes she has courageously exposed, and on many occasions has been able to circumvent.

M. Margiotta devotes the latter half of his first volume to a description of Miss Vaughan and of her noble and generous character, even before her eyes were opened to the iniquities of the system in which she had been brought up.

Loyal as a knight of the Middle Ages, frank and courageous in not hiding her thoughts and opinions when a bad action had been committed, honest in every sense of the word, and charitable almost to excess, she has won the respect of men and women of every class. . . . She never would consent to profane a consecrated Host, although this sacrilege is insisted upon on reception into the order; and in this refusal she was encouraged by Albert Pike, who foresaw the great value a woman of this sort would be to freemasonry, and who consequently appointed her Mistress of the Templars on the 8th of April 1889.

But it is time that we should leave this first volume of Margiotta's and go on to the second, called "Palladism," which enters more fully into what he calls the "Orthodoxy" of the Masonic Order. We have before spoken of the split in the freemason sect between the

adorers of Lucifer and of Satan; but with the advent of Lemmi to supreme power, the latter prevailed and copious extracts are given by Margiotta from the different circulars and speeches of the lodges, of which we will give some short extracts. The President of the Masonic Federation of Palermo in a speech to the "Triangle" exclaims:

Satan is the only true God! Satan, whom the priests have only conquered by calumny, deceit, and lies, is the creator of all intelligence, civilisation, and progress Glory then to Satan, Sovereign of Matter!

In the fearful "Hymn to Satan," which is sung in all the meetings of the lodges, and which appeared in full in *La Patrie* on the 15th of September 1894, at Paris, we find the following passages:

Hail! O Satan, avenging force of reason! May our incense and our prayers mount towards thee in adoration! Satan! thou hast conquered the Jehovah of the priests! Martin Luther has cast aside his habit, broken his chains, and, as the incarnation of human thought, shines for ever surrounded by flames. Satan has won! And what does the barbaric fury of the Nazarene matter to thee, O Satan! or that thy temples have been burnt by the enemy? In vain, poor fool, thou strivest to macerate thy flesh with hair shirts and disciplines. The real god of strength and power is Satan; Satan, the god of the unhappy and oppressed, Satan the god of the Revolution."

But the Luciferians would not allow their worship to be thus condemned; and as Carducci wrote his "Hymn to Satan" by the formal order of Lemmi, so a certain Rapisardi composed one to Lucifer, under the inspiration of Albert Pike, who had also composed a Credo, Pater, and Ave in the same sense. The "Credo" begins with: "I believe in one god (Lucifer) the principle of good, who from all-eternity has fought with the God of Destruction (Jehovah) the Principle of Evil" and ends with:

I believe in the future and irrevocable triumph of truth over falsehood, of virtue over vice, of science over error, of liberty over despotism, of reason over superstition, of love over sterility, of light over darkness, of good over evil, of the great architect of the universe, our god, over Adonai, the God of the priests—Amen.

The "Pater" is even more blasphemous and concludes with the words: "Preserve us from the corruption of priests; protect us from their snares and deliver us for ever from Adonai their god.—Amen."

Monseigneur Fava, the holy Bishop of Grenoble, might well exclaim when writing of these blasphemies:

Freemasonry is the enemy with whom we have now to contend. I have seen and known freemasons in the East and in the West, and their

one motive is always the same—*hatred of Christ*. People are astonished at these words, and cannot believe us; and when we tell them that freemasonry works as a mole—*sicut talpi*—they look upon us as demented; not seeing that in Italy, as in France, the Government is entirely in their hands and is moulded solely according to the will of the sect. To seize and profane the Blessed Sacrament and the Crucifix, to undermine the faith of men, to drive charity and the love of our Lord out of all hearts, to corrupt women and children, to vilify the Priesthood, to dream that they will destroy the Papacy, and in the meanwhile to ruin Catholicism in every possible way and by every imaginable means—such are the sole objects and aims of freemasonry.”

Monseigneur Fava has written an admirable work on this subject, entitled, “The Secret of Freemasonry,” of which M. Margiotta gives a short extract:

To throw a veil over the infinite perfections of God, to deny His goodness, so that men should cease to love Him; to describe Him as a cruel tyrant, so that men may hate and blaspheme Him; to exalt the rights of men to the length of an entire independence of their Creator; finally, to throw down God from His throne and from His altars, and to put in His place the fallen angel—such has always been the tactic of Satan in the war he has never ceased to wage against the Divinity of Christ and poor humanity. And these same tactics are found in freemasonry, not only in their result but in their modes of action. . . . Satan well deserves his name of the “*Tempter*,” for, deprived of the sight of God by his fall, he has never ceased to hate his Creator, and all His creatures. . . . “When the Saviour came into the world,” says Bossuet, “all were God save God Himself.” Pantheism flourished in Egypt, in India, in Greece, and many other countries. Cast down by the Cross, it tried to rise again in Europe in the tenth and fourteenth centuries, going through successive defeats, yet always existing; and now has been resuscitated by the freemasons, who are striving to plant it firmly amongst us. Freemasonry is working day and night to blind men’s eyes, to throw a veil over God and His Divine Son, and to obscure the Truth. It has declared war to the death against His Church, and, as in the days of bloody persecution, Christianity is looked upon by them as a sin. If our Lord were still on earth, they would crucify Him as did the Jews. Whilst they thus insult and despise God the Creator, and still more God the Saviour and Redeemer of the world, they exalt the rights of men in an absurd fashion, and advocate the sovereignty of the people without check or limit, making man a god.

Signor Margiotta, in revealing the inner workings of freemasonry, considers that he is acting in accordance with the commands of the Holy Father, who, in his Encyclical “*Humanum Genus*,” says: “In the first place, tear off from freemasonry the mask with which she has covered herself, *and let men see and know what she really is*.” He gives us the Satanic “*Ave*” in full, which is addressed not to Mary, but to Eve, and runs as follows:

Hail, Eve, mother of the human race, the first and most gracious of women. Lucifer formed thee with his divine hands from the fairest flower of the earth. Hail, Eve! the good god, Lucifer, was with thee in

thy sorrows and thy joys. The first and holy victim of the scoundrel Adonai, venting His fury on the earth, it was by Him that thou wast sentenced to death with thy spouse and thy descendants, because thou didst bear in thy womb the blessed fruit of Love; but that God of Evil, the God of the Catholics, could not destroy humanity. Hail, Eve, then! all hail!" ("Secret Ritual of the Sect.")

The deification of Satan, under the title of "The Great Architect of the Universe," is, therefore, the supreme secret and end of freemasonry. In Paris, in Turin, in Rome, and many other cities this worship is regularly organised. What are called "Black Masses" are celebrated. Women are made use of to provide consecrated Hosts for the purpose of these horrible sacrileges, which they have received in Catholic Churches in Holy Communion and not swallowed, so as to reserve them for this fearful profanation. In a monthly review published in Paris, called *Le Diable au dix-neuvième Siècle*, the whole text of this detestable service is given, which is, in fact, only a blasphemous travesty of the Mass. Signor Margiotta gives also a graphic description of the apparitions of Satan on certain occasions, which at first he had fancied were simple impostures, but of which he had a horrible and ocular proof through the Satanism of a man named Gianbattista Pessina, who, it seems, invokes the Devil at his will, with the most horrible imprecations, of which he gives us the following specimen:

"Maledicti sint scelestus Adonai excelsus, universi terrarum orbis vexator et Christus Bethlemitus sanctæ veræque fidei proditor." (or, Cursed be Adonai, the most high scoundrel, persecutor of the whole universe, and the Christ of Bethlehem, who has betrayed the true and holy faith.)

Signor Margiotta gives us a terrible series of biographical pictures of the leading actors in these diabolical manifestations, and devotes a whole chapter to the life of Pessina, which is a tissue of infamies almost incredible to the reader, but for which chapter and verse are given in the most minute detail, proving that no assertion of crime has been made without distinct evidence. He concludes these chapters with the following passage:

I hereby solemnly affirm that in these statements I have asserted less than the truth; and that the men who have been initiated in the whole of these Satanic doctrines will be neither astonished nor shocked at these revelations, for they have seen and heard far worse than what I have here related.

It is a relief to turn from these blasphemies and iniquities to the conclusion of this volume, which gives in detail the conversion of Miss Diana Vaughan, with some very interesting letters on the subject from Leo Taxil, whose own recantation of freemasonry made such a

sensation a few years ago. He speaks of Miss Vaughan in the following terms :

Diana was the victim of her education ; from her earliest childhood she never heard the name of the true and only God spoken but in a blasphemous and sacrilegious manner. Her whole youth was surrounded with the blackest darkness and error ; yet she was honest, pure, and true. And a ray of grace suddenly lit up this darkness, dispelled the clouds, and her noble soul, preserved from all stain of sin, flew at once upwards, with joyous wings, towards the Light of God.

Joan of Arc was what we may call the human instrument of this miracle of grace, and long before her actual reception into the Church she had said to Leo Taxil :

If I learn to believe in Jesus Christ, your Lord and God, I must receive the waters of baptism to wash away my old baptism of fire ; and, if that happens, I wish my Catholic godparents to give me the name of *Jeanne*, to whom I owe so much.

On arriving at the convent, where she went to make a retreat, she wrote :

When I passed the threshold of this holy place of shelter, I felt that I was making the first step towards God—the only true God.

O ! my God ! whom I have never before known, forgive ! forgive ! Unworthy as I am, I am still one of Thy virgins. Pardon me, O God of all goodness ! Yes, my Lord ! there is but one God, and it is Thou. The other is a lie, and Thou art the Truth. For two Satans cannot exist, or two gods of evil ; and Lucifer is Satan. Thanks to Thee, who art henceforth my God, I now understand. The calm, the exultation of my soul, the sweet and holy joy with which my heart is filled, and which I have never known until now—all this I owe to Thee. Pray for me ; you, my new friends. Ask the angels and saints of God that I may keep this blessed peace as long as my life shall last ; and may the Holy Mother of Christ help me now and at the hour of my death.

On June 13, she assisted at her first mass and wrote afterwards :

O God of infinite goodness ! I believe in Thee. I thank Thee that Thou hast permitted me at last to be freed from the power of the devils. . . . I implore all who read these words not to forget me in their prayers. Especially do I beg for the prayers of priests and religious, so that their pure and holy voices may be raised for me to heaven, and win for me mercy and peace. Obtain also for me the prayers of little children, who are so dear to God, and those of His virgin spouses, consecrated for ever to His service. My Jesus, mercy !

We can only implore our readers to join in this heartfelt and penitent prayer.

Miss Vaughan is about to write her own experiences of freemasonry, which will be very valuable ; for, as the French writer, Max Girardin, justly remarks : “ If we are to attach importance to the testimony afforded by current literature, the present century seems desirous of giving the highest place to Satan.” And Renan asserts :

Beyond all doubt, the diffusion of education, the progress of enlightenment, and the advance of civilisation have conferred more advantages on the Devil than on any existing being. The Middle Ages, unacquainted with the principles of toleration (!) looked upon Satan as a miscreant and a villain!

That the eyes of many more may be opened to the iniquities which Professor Margiotta has so fearfully exposed, and that all who love our Lord may do their best, by penitence and prayer, to atone for the fearful sacrileges daily and hourly committed by His enemies, is the fervent desire of the writer of this review.

MARY ELIZABETH HERBERT.

1. English Liturgical Vestments in the Thirteenth Century.

Being a paper read before the Exeter Diocesan Architectural and Archæological Society, at the College Hall, Exeter, September 13, 1895. By OSWALD J. REICHEL, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A. Author of "Manuals of Canon Law," &c. London: John Hodges, 1895.

2. Solemn Mass at Rome in the Ninth Century. By the same Author. Second edition, with additions. London: John Hodges, 1895.

1. **T**HE author, a former Vice-principal of Cuddesdon College, gives in the first of these tracts a good deal more than he promises. Still it may be inferred from the title that pp. 13-17 and 55-57 contain the gist of his pamphlet. His object is to show that the cope was in England in the thirteenth century "the principal vestment," or rather "the principal mass-vestment."

It may be stated at once that in itself the tract is not worth reviewing; but as it is a fair specimen of much of the ecclesiological work produced at the present day, it is worth while to examine it as exposing the method employed by many writers on these subjects.

First let Mr. Reichel marshal his facts and proofs and draw his conclusions for himself at full length.

In the year 1250 Walter Gray, archbishop of York, published a constitution detailing what ornaments of the church the parishioners were bound to supply—*i.e.*, the chalice, the mass book, the principal vestment of the church, the chasuble, alb, amice, stole, maniple, girdle, with three towels and corporals, and other vestments for the deacon and sub-deacon . . . with a silk cope for the principal festivals and two others for presiding in choir at the festivals aforesaid, &c. &c. (p. 13.)

Some thirty years later Archbishop Peckham of Canterbury issued a similar constitution, requiring that the parishioners should provide "the missal, chalice, principal vestment of the church, chasuble, clean alb, amice, maniple, girdle, with two towels, cross for processions," &c. (p. 14).

Again, in 1305, Archbishop Winchelsea of Canterbury orders that the

parishioners were to provide, so far as vestments are concerned, "the principal vestment with the chasuble, a dalmatic, a tunic, a choral cope with all its *appendages*, a frontal for the great altar with three towels, three surplices, a rochet" (p. 15).

Lyndwood p. 252 (it is added), commenting on this constitution in the year 1429, declares that by the term *appendages*, used in connection with the choral cope, are to be understood the alb, amice, girdle, stole, and maniple; and since these vestments are mentioned in the earlier constitutions of Archbishop Gray, and from the evidence of the service books (Leofric Missal, p. 59, A.D. 1024) appear to have been regularly in use from a much earlier date, there can be little doubt that he is right (pp. 15-16. It is worth while to notice in passing the condescending approval of Lyndwood and the "exquisite reason" for it.)

What is now to be deduced from these documents as to the use of "English liturgical vestments in the thirteenth century?" Mr. Reichel sums the case up thus:

The garments named in both provinces for the use of the parochial incumbent or ministering presbyter are: (1) The principal vestment or cope, the chasuble or planet, and the maniple; the stole is only mentioned in the constitution of the North province, though it is prescribed in another constitution of the Southern province for ministering the eucharist;* and (2) the alb, amice and girdle. The three or four first-named garments constitute the distinctive liturgical dress of the higher clergy; the alb, amice, and girdle were worn by all the assistant clergy as well (p. 16).

It is unnecessary to proceed to (3) and (4). We have thus already reached this point, that "the principal vestment" is a "cope;" and that the cope is part of the "distinctive liturgical dress of the higher clergy." Now to the proof that it is the "principal mass-vestment" in England in the thirteenth century.

The cope, like the chasuble, derives from the planet. The original planet was a large circular cloak which reached to the feet and enveloped the whole person, whence the Gallican clergy appropriately called it *casula*. But this garment . . . was an exceedingly heavy and inconvenient garment to move about in. Hence it underwent a twofold process of adaptation. For walking purposes it was cut open in front, so that it ceased to be a close-cope, and was worn like a mantle or cape whence [notice again the exquisiteness of the reason] whence it was called *cappa*, *cope* or *pluvial*. . . . It thus became the processional or ordinary planet for walking, sometimes called gown (*stola*), and

* The following explanation, taken from another part of the tract, may be given here as characteristic of the writer's style and method: "In its origin the stole appears to have been a diaconal rather than a priestly vestment, a worldly rather than an ecclesiastical decoration (Concil. Aurel. i. A.D. 511 c. 20), and possibly on this ground the austere 'Friar John,' as Archbishop Peckham was wont to describe himself, may have refrained from prescribing it as a Eucharistic vestment for the beneficed clergy of the Southern province. Its use was no doubt enjoined when carrying the Eucharist to the sick, but this, by the ancient custom of the Church, was the deacon's duty" (p. 47). The fact that Archbishop Peckham mentions the stole as definitely as Archbishop Gray is the least objection to passages like these which abound in both tracts.

known in English constitutions as, the principal vestment. . . . On the other hand for eucharistic purposes . . . the planet was reduced in length and cut away at the sides to give free play to the arms, but retaining its original character as an all-round garment or close-cope, it retained its original name of *casula*. . . . There can be no doubt that the English constitutions of the thirteenth century distinguish "the principal mass-vestment" from "the chasuble," and this distinction is still more clearly shown by the existing inventories, one of which, that of St. Paul's, goes back to the early part of the thirteenth century (pp. 55-57).

And so we may now conclude, if we will, that in the thirteenth century, according to the "English constitutions" of that date, "the principal mass-vestment" was the cope. And the reader of this notice is now in possession of the whole of the evidence as adduced by Mr. Reichel of the fact.

What is to be said of this farrago? or rather, how is it to be explained? Early in the last century a worthy and respectable clergyman, John Johnson, published an account of the canons of the English Church to the reign of Henry VIII.; his work is really estimable for his times and lights; and his deficiencies may easily be pardoned. Mr. Johnson was under the impression that in mediæval times the priest was wont to put on a chasuble, and over the chasuble a cope (which "officiating cope," he thought, was of "the same make" as "the close-cope"); and thus effectually extinguished, the priest was prepared to celebrate mass. In this persuasion Johnson allowed himself to make sundry changes in the text of the various constitutions quoted above, and thought himself justified in concluding from the text thus refashioned that the "principal vestment" was the cope. Johnson's mistakes are properly noted by his modern editor—the late Rev. John Baron—who gives the correct text in his notes.

Mr. Reichel has no such excuse as Johnson; not even the excuse of believing that the chasuble was "the garment worn by the priest next under the cope, which was called also the planet"; nor has he any excuse as to texts, for since the times of Johnson the text is sufficiently well settled on the MSS. He has only to take Wilkins (or, if the *Concilia* be not at hand, Mr. Baron's notes) to inform himself as to what the principal vestment is. The prelates tell him plainly. Archbishop Gray thus: "The principal vestment of the church, *to wit*, chasuble, fair alb (*alba munda*), amice, stole, maniple, girdle;" the archbishop also tells him that the two copes, in addition to the "principal silk cope," are for the rulers of the choir (not for "presiding," as Johnson). Archbishop Peckham thus: "The principal vestment of the church, *to wit*, chasuble, fair alb, amice, stole,

maniple, girdle." Finally, if Archbishop Winchelsea does not appear so clear, the gloss of Lyndwood, who must be familiar to the author of "A Complete Manual of Canon Law," is there to help. "A principal vestment," says the Archbishop, "with chasuble, dalmatic, tunic, and with a choir cope, with all its appendages." "*Principal vestment*," explains Lyndwood, "that is for principal feasts; and from the fact that order is laid on the parishioners to provide the principal vestment specially, they seem to be relieved from the charge of finding the other vestments, viz., those for use on ferial days." "*Casula*, i.e., planeta, in which the priest is vested for celebration of mass." "*Capa in choro*, that is in the place of the church where they sing. For the priest, when he is performing divine service outside the time of mass, especially when he incenses the altar or says the collects, uses the cope" (p. 252, which Mr. Reichel himself refers to).

It seems difficult to understand how, with such texts before him a reader can possibly go wrong; unless a reason be found in the ease with which this writer treats as if non-existent, earlier writers qualified to teach him; a reason also betrayed in the persistency with which, in defiance of the author himself and the language he cites "M. Duchêsne." Whether there be any more intimate or interested reason why Mr. Reichel lays down that "the principal vestment" is a cope, and that "the English constitutions of the thirteenth century" distinguish "the principal mass-vestment" from "the chasuble," and whether this has anything to do with Crammer's preference for the cope to the chasuble at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and with the twenty-fourth Canon, the author himself best knows.

Though the main point of the tract has been considered, the bulk of it has hitherto been left unnoticed. In some thirty-five pages (pp. 19-54) of large print, well-spaced, Mr. Reichel considers the *linea*, the *pænula*, the *tunica*, *colobus*, *colobion*, or rochet, the dalmatic, toga, pallium, the stole (gown), the stole (*orarium*), the "white garment" and "royal headband," or "crown band" of the newly baptised, the alb, Roman and Gallican, the clerical long robe, cassock or surplice, *superhumerales*, amice or hood, *poderis*, *anagolagium*, *sudarium*, subumblem, scarf, ceremonial handkerchief or maniple, the girdle, the *ωμοφόριον*, the *ἐπιτραχήλιον*, the *ὀβόνη*, the planeta, the *pallium linostimum*, *mappula circensis*, fanon, *manualia*, *manicæ*, *ἐπιμανικία*, of course St. Paul's cloak at Troas, the *φελόνιον*, the *casula* or *amphibalon*. *C'est tout de j'ai bonne mémoire.*

The history of costume from the fourth century to the twelfth, is one of the most intricate and difficult subjects in the whole range of archæological investigation. So far as I can form an opinion, I

should say that this portion of the tract, as regards its subject-matter, is of the same quality as that which deals with the "principal vestment," and is equally trustworthy, whether in its moments of affected exactness, or in its attempts to be lively and modern. The author's quality is betrayed at all points, as when, for instance, in six words—"Pseudo-Alcuin, *i.e.*, Albinus-Flaccus (Epist. 90)" he shows that he cannot know either "Pseudo-Alcuin," or "Albinus-Flaccus," or the writer of the letters, or, the particular letter which he professes to cite. A few lines later Mr. Reichel betrays about an equal knowledge of the opinions of "modern critics" (saving M. Batiffol) as to the Canons of Hippolytus.

Sed esto finis. The days seem to be past when country parsons, if their circumstances were not altogether favourable, and their resources were limited, could devote with profit some leisure hours to archaeological subjects; and, if they said nothing particularly new, at least were directed by sound sense and the recollection perhaps of earlier days, to take safe guides. And so they were properly qualified to instruct and often entertain their neighbours, and sometimes a wider public. Who would reproach men like these for lapses or blunders, which, due to circumstances rather than themselves, only brought into relief their zeal and good will? The days seem past, too, which produced ecclesiastical antiquaries, like the late Rev. W. E. Scudamore, or W. B. Marriott, from whom it was possible at times to differ, but for whom it was impossible not to have a constant respect.

2. The pamphlet on "Solemn Mass" is of the same quality with that just noticed; and it is therefore not necessary to waste words over it here, although the result of an examination and verification of references is, in measure, at the author's service.

Mr. Reichel has a real liking for liturgical subjects. He might do well if he would take the trouble to acquaint himself with the documents which he cites; would understand his texts; would be careful, in his use of writers affecting originality, to distinguish in them what is sound from what is fanciful; and would refrain from trying to be original himself, at least at present. Moreover, it is desirable in professed translations (or even free rendering) to say what the author says and not something else; when, for instance, St. Justin Martyr says: "Bread is brought in and wine and water," it is best to make him say so, and not "bread and a mixture of wine and water are brought in;" especially when a conclusion is drawn from the interpolation running counter to what is implied by the text itself. Finally, all kinds of inconveniences are saved by citing the books actually used, and from which the cited testimonies are really drawn.

E. B.

“Penological and Preventive Principles, with special reference to Europe and America, &c.” By WILLIAM TALLACK, Secretary of the Howard Association. Second and enlarged edition. London: Wertheimer, Lea & Co. A.D. 1896, pp. xii-485. Price 8s.

IN spite of our boasted modern progress, and free and compulsory education, we have not yet got rid, nor indeed greatly diminished the number, of our criminal classes. Each day the newspapers chronicle their dismal lists of murders, robberies, assaults and misdemeanours, and still the evil dogs the path of civilisation. How best to treat the various criminals, how to deal out justice and yet to temper justice with mercy, are some of the questions that the volume before us helps to solve.

The various classes of offenders, as well as the various forms of punishment, are carefully considered, and many interesting facts are stated which greatly help the general reader to form an opinion on the whole system of criminal legislation. The separation and classification of prisoners undergoing punishment, the supervision of habitual offenders, their employment during detention; and the efficacy of corporal castigation, are all treated in a most interesting manner. We are also favoured with the author's views, founded on an experience extending over many years, concerning the justice of sentences in general, on the deterrent effect of the penalty of death, as contrasted with that of perpetual or life imprisonment, and on the aid and the supervision to be extended to discharged prisoners.

There are also chapters on “Child Saving,” on “Intemperance,” on “Prostitution,” on “Pauperism and its Prevention,” on “Substitutes for Imprisonment,” and upon many other topics of practical importance, though only indirectly connected with crime and its punishments.

The author writes in an easy, pleasant style, and with evident intention to be fair and impartial. There are, however, one or two points upon which, it is to be feared, he has leant too trustfully upon unreliable sources. His estimate of the *droit du Seigneur* for instance, and its effect upon civilisation, is undoubtedly inaccurate:

One horror alone in feudal and Catholic France sufficed to corrupt the nation to its very heart. And this was the abominable special *droit du Seigneur*. (P. 50.) . . . Interdict after interdict was laid upon powerful monarchs and peoples for some real or assumed infractions of the pecuniary interests or claims of the Church, but when was any “Bull” or “Interdict” levelled against the upholding of the *droit du Seigneur*, and various other atrocious tyrannies upon the people's inalienable and God-given rights. Rome might have done so much. (P. 51.)

Here the author's limited knowledge of Canon Law and Church procedure has led him into the mistake of expecting to find in Bulls denunciations of an immoral practice, which, like denunciations of stealing, drunkenness, and other sins against the moral law, is to be found in the ordinary action of the Church through her daily and permanent preaching and discipline. A baron who used this *droit du Seigneur* was like every one else who committed the same crime—debarred from Holy Communion until he confessed his sin and repented of it. The Church no more approved of the practice than she approved of murder. But it would be puerile to conclude that the Church could not condemn homicide or immorality without formulating special Bulls for the purpose. That this is not said from any special prejudice against the Catholic Church is evident from other parts of the work, wherein the Church receives full credit for its wisdom and forethought. For instance, on p. 158 it is stated that—

The Roman Church was a pioneer of prison reform. Clement XI.'s prison became a model for a similar one at Milan. The long ranges of cells, and even the radiating arrangement of wings and corridors, were planned by the Roman architect and the Pontiff. Long years later they were initiated by Belgians at Ghent, then by J. Bentham at Millbank, and also by some Americans in the United States. Often the latter have been credited with the origination of the system, but quite falsely.

M. Corbeer, a commissioner from the French Government, is quoted as testifying :

The correctional system is Christian. It is Catholic. It is no new system. It had its birth in the monasteries, and a Pope gave it its baptismal name, when it came into the world. (P. 158.)

The volume closes with a good alphabetical index, and is neatly bound in red cloth.

Tableaux Synoptiques de Littérature Française. L'Abbé J. SEYTRE. Avignon : Aubanel Frères, Imprimeurs de N. S. P. Le Pape, &c.

THIS work should serve both as a valuable book of reference and as an admirable handbook of "cram." It consists of sheets, printed on one side only, doubled in the middle, and then bound together, in book form. The result is that after every pair of printed pages come a pair of blank pages, which makes the book of double the bulk it would be if printed in the usual way. In schools it may possibly be found convenient to take out each sheet by itself for the use of pupils, and very easily can this be done ; so easily, in

fact, that the volume has rather a tendency to fall to pieces. We Englishmen have an idea that one great object in a work of reference is to economise space. Such an ideal is very far from being attained in this French work. The matter is arranged chronologically ; and so far, so good. By this means a little thought should enable a well-educated reader to find the account of any author, or any of his works, in a very short time ; yet this is, in our opinion, essentially the sort of book which would be the better for an index, and we think that a mistake was made in omitting to give one. The style is, as it ought to be, exceedingly concise. The labour of compiling summaries of all the books described must have been immense. Some knowledge of the contents of almost any one of the best-known French books, from the eleventh to the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, may be obtained here by reading a few lines. To Englishmen who wish to learn something of the history of the literature of France, a synopsis of this kind should prove invaluable. It is almost needless to say that from its very nature, such concise writing cannot possibly afford very easy reading, and simply to read the book once through, word for word, from end to end, would be as laborious as it would be unprofitable, but rightly used, with an occasional look into some of the books of which it treats, as well as into fuller histories of their authors, the work should be found of almost incalculable help to the student of a subject, concerning which every well-educated person ought to know something.

De libris prohibitis Commentarii. Auctore AUGUSTINO ARNDT, S.J., Berolinensi, SS. Canonum in Collegio maximo Cracoviensi Professore. Cum permissione Ecclesiasticorum Superiorum, Ratisbonae, Neo-Eboraci et Cincinnati. Sumptibus et typis Frederici Pustet, S. Sedis Apostolicae Typographi, MCCCXCV. 1 vol. in 8vo, vi-316 pp.

THE question of forbidden books is treated in moral theology and in Canon Law. S. Alphonsus has given us a dissertation "*de justa prohibitione et abolitione librorum nocuae lectionis*" (Appendix iii. ad lib. i. Moral. Theol. ; see also lib. vii. de censuris No. 281 sqq.) ; so has Bouix in his canonical treatise "*De Curia Romana*," sect. iii. ; Heymans' "*De Ecclesiastica Librorum aliorumque Scriptorum in Belgio prohibitione*," and others. But all are more or less incomplete ; whilst F. Arndt's work, notwithstanding its conciseness, is the most complete with which we have come across on the subject of forbidden books.

He divides it into two commentaries. In the former, which is historical, he exposes the discipline of the Church with regard to books from the first ages down to the Council of Trent. In the latter he speaks of the present discipline of the Church. After three chapters on the prohibition of books by natural law, the author comes to the positive law, or the Index, which is the chief subject of his work. He holds that the Index, with its various parts, binds everywhere (not excepting England), and that the doctrinal decrees issued either by the Office or the Congregation of the Index, even when confirmed by the Pope, are not *ex cathedra* definitions: they are such only when his intention of uttering a definition is clearly made known. In other cases, however, the decrees of the congregations demand absolute obedience. The Index comprises two parts: general rules and decrees, and the catalogue of forbidden authors or books which are the object of particular decrees. The former are briefly enumerated: they are altogether ten in number, and can be found in any edition of the Index of forbidden books. It is a great pity that F. Arndt has not given them in full in an appendix, as they show at a glance the prudent legislation of the Church on this important subject.

As to the other points treated by the author, they concern the general and particular prohibitions of books by the Index; the penalties enacted against readers, detainers, or printers of forbidden books; the permission for reading them, its conditions, the extension of such permissions; the correction of prohibited books, the rules for the approbation of books, and the rights and duties of Bishops with regard to printers or booksellers; all of which subjects, though not without interest and practical import, are generally neglected. The volume winds up with a good *index rerum*.

Saint Albert de Messine, de l'Ordre des Carmes. Par LA COMTESSE D. DE BEAUREPAIRE DE LOUVAGNY. 292-xxvi pp. Paris: Téqui. 1895.

THIS life will come as a surprise to many of our readers. With St. Lucy of Catania, St. Albert shares the dignity of patron of Sicily. His title to this position is clearly established in the Countess de Beaurepaire's charming volume. The inhabitants of that beautiful and unfortunate island having frequently experienced the powerful protection of this sainted fellow-countryman have learnt to hold his name in grateful love and reverence since the beginning of the fourteenth century. The parents of our saint had

been twenty years married before a child was born to them. Desirous of offspring, they promised if God sent them a son to consecrate him to the religious life. Their vow was heard. Albert was the fruit of their prayer. He was christened on the very day he was born and his childhood proved how deep the grace of baptism had sunk into his infant heart. At the age of eight he presented himself before the prior of the Carmelite Convent at Trapani and begged to be allowed to wear the livery of the servants of Mary. With the consent of his parents and in presence of a large crowd of nobles and commoners, the ceremony of clothing took place and Albert began the ascent of Mount Carmel. In spite of the tenderness of his age and the attractions the world dangles before the eyes of the young and inexperienced, the novice kept faithful to his engagements, and after a searching probation was in due course admitted to solemn profession. His vows only drew his loving and generous heart closer to God. To him they were not iron bonds, but chains of roses. Attachment to prayer, a love of mortification and a horror of idleness lightened the burden and sweetened the yoke of Christian perfection. His ordination to the priesthood, which brought him daily into direct contact with the Author of grace and strength, made the path of the counsels still easier. Miracles came to attest the favour with which Our Lord regarded His servant. The most unexpected conversions and wonderful cures marked his route through Sicily. Messina, besieged by the forces of France, Naples and Aragon, was suffering the horrors of famine when Albert's prayers brought provision-laden ships up to her wharves in spite of the enemy's vessels blockading the port. His life was spent in speaking to God or of God, and the sorrow which filled Sicily when the news of his death spread abroad, is proof of the regard in which he was held by high and low, rich and poor, secular and regulars. A considerable number of miracles have been since his decease wrought through his intercession. In 1664, July 2nd, the S.C.R. approved and confirmed the choice of St. Albert as Patron of Trapani and assigned him an office with Octave. The Carmelites, who regard him as a very special patron of their Order, keep his feast on the 7th of August. The life is preceded by an interesting and impartial dissertation on the origin and spirit of the Carmelite Order. There are several illustrations in the book. The authoress has a limpid style, lets facts speak for themselves, shows the human side of her subject and has succeeded in producing a devotional work which is absolutely devoid of dryness or weariness.

Manuel de la Dévotion au Saint Esprit. Par le R. P. MARIE-JOSEPH FRIAQUE, O.P. Paris : Téqui. 1895. 2 frs.

THE French publisher to whose enterprise we owe so many important religious works has placed us under a fresh obligation by bringing out this valuable Manual. Devotion to the Holy Ghost, which has always existed in the Church which He illuminated on Whit-Sunday, has become more prominent in our times when Satan, the evil spirit, is making such terrible assaults upon the faith and morality of Christian nations. In his preface Fr. Friaque points out how fierce is the struggle between "the Spirit of truth" and the spirit of error on the battlefield of the human soul, and proves the opportuneness of extraordinary and special devotion to the Holy Ghost. The development of this devotion from Pentecost to these days is ably traced. The devotion of Jesus Christ and his holy Mother to the third person of the Blessed Trinity is treated in a masterly manner in Chapters IV. and V. The tenth Chapter links the Holy Ghost with devotion to the Sacred Heart in a way that will arouse in many a client of the Sacred Heart feelings of admiration and gratitude. The first part of the book is speculative, the second part is practical. Exercises of devotion are given which will satisfy those who, having read the first part, feel their hearts burning with a longing to make some return to the Holy Ghost for His gifts and fruits. The whole work will be found extremely useful by all who have to prepare Catholics for the Sacrament of Confirmation. It is of a convenient size and cheap.

The True Church of the Bible. By the Rev. W. FLEMING, M.R. London : R. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster Row, 1895. Pp. 109.

THERE can be no doubt that there are many sincere, fair-minded Protestants who will gladly follow the Bible, no matter at what cost to themselves, wherever the Bible may lead them. But they have been always taught that the Bible leads, and must lead, away from Rome. In their earnest reading of the Scriptures they have indeed met with texts which seemed to them to bear a distinctly Catholic sense. But they have easily and honestly persuaded themselves that this sense, as out of harmony with what they take to be the general teaching of the Sacred Book, cannot be the true sense. No better service could be done to these than to afford them an opportunity of learning that the Bible is heavily laden with proofs

of Catholic doctrine. This service has now been successfully rendered by Fr. Fleming. In "The True Church of the Bible" he has massed together the scriptural proofs of the prominent articles of Catholic faith. And, lest those in whose interest chiefly the book has been written should suspect that there had been any tampering with the sacred text, Fr. Fleming has taken the excellent precaution of quoting from the Anglican version of the Scriptures. And, as the book may be read by many who profess respect for the ancient beliefs of the Church, our author often proves from tradition that the present belief of the Church with respect to some leading point of doctrine has been its belief from the beginning.

De Systemate Morali Antiquorum Probabilistarum Dissertatio Historico-Critica, AUCTORE FRANCISCO TER HAAR, Congregationis S.S. Redemptoris. Tornaci: H. et L. Casterman. Parisiis: H. et L. Casterman, *viâ* Bonaparte 66. Galopiae: M. Alberts et Fil, Libraria Cathol. 1895. Pp. 108.

FR. TER HAAR would engage our attention for a question which bears indeed some relation to moral theology and is yet of purely academic interest. His contention is that Probabilism, as a system, had no existence till the publication of M. Medina's Commentaries in 1557, and that from the Medina's day till the time of St. Alphonsus, although there were amongst theologians many moderate Probabilists, that is to say, "Equiprobabilists," "Probabilists," in the modern sense of the term, were comparatively few in number and comparatively insignificant in importance. We are not disposed to admit his contention, but we freely admit that he has succeeded in showing that some of the older theologians commonly known as "Probabilists" ought more strictly to be classed as "Equiprobabilists." But the question is an academic one. "Probabilism" has a sure footing of its own independently of any support it might receive from theologians who flourished before the days of St. Alphonsus. But though the question is academic it is not without interest, and it will lose none of its interest through the treatment of Fr. Ter Haar.

Agnosticism and Religion. By GEORGE J. LUCAS. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1895. Pp. 136.

THIS treatise was written as a dissertation for the doctorate in theology at the Catholic University of America. The first part contains a history of Agnosticism, ancient and modern, while the second part is devoted to a critical examination of Mr. Herbert Spencer's "Religion of the Unknowable." The writer gives evidence of a somewhat extensive course of reading, and a fairly large acquaintance with the philosophical systems. But we do not know that we ought to congratulate him on this. Possibly his mind would have been better trained and his information more valuably increased if he had confined his studies during his college period to a system of sound philosophy. Afterwards he might, with profit to others and without loss to himself, have given his attention to systems that are erroneous. But to spend a large portion of the college course in making acquaintance with what is unsound would seem to be a sad waste of time. The knowledge thus acquired is acquired only that it may be attacked. And yet the time spent in its acquisition is taken from the study of those principles by which alone it can be successfully refuted. Mr. Lucas certainly shows some power of handling difficult subjects in a large and masterly way. But his book is valuable rather for its promise than for its accomplishment.

Petri Cardinalis Pázmány, Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis et Primatis Regni Hungariæ Physica, Quam e codice propria auctoris manu scripto et in Bibliotheca Universitatis Budapestinensis asservato recensuit STEPHANUS BOGNAR. Budapestini: Typis Regiæ Scientiarum Universitatis. 1895. Pp. 614.

THIS work, generally speaking, traverses the ground covered by Aristotle's eight books on Physics. The questions bearing upon the principles and causes and the affection, properties, and changes of bodies, are discussed with much thoroughness. On two points our author departs from the plan of Aristotle's treatise. He omits all discussion of the Prime Mover and His attributes, on the ground that this subject does not properly fall within the scope of Physics; and he discusses quantity much more fully than Aristotle, on the ground that without an accurate knowledge of quantity there can be no accurate knowledge of those physical subjects (as with Aristotle he takes them to be) movement and time. Our author accepts as his chief guides Aristotle and St. Thomas; but he follows neither

blindly. He is a true eclectic. He professes adhesion to no school, but takes wherever he finds. With the Thomists he attacks the Scotist doctrine of the form of corporeity; with the Scotists, he attacks the Thomistic contention that, while there is a real distinction between matter and form, matter has no existence distinct from the existence of form. So eclectic is he that Durandus and Ockham must contribute to his share of learning. A man of large and catholic mind, of profound philosophic insight, of vast erudition, was this wonderful Cardinal Pázmány, whose monumental work, buried like himself some three hundred years ago, is now thus marvellously resuscitated. We fear, however, that the "Physica" will find itself as little at home in the nineteenth century as would the good Cardinal himself were he to come to life again. This is not all to the credit of the nineteenth century. It would be difficult for any one to master this book without making thereby an immense intellectual advance. But there is no intellectual advance without effort and labour and assiduous concentration of thought. And these are characteristics of past ages rather than of the present day. But to any that have a soul above manuals and royal roads to knowledge we sincerely commend the study of Cardinal Pázmány's "Physica."

The New Life in Christ. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET, D.D.
 London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. 1895.
 Pp. 347.

"I WRITE," says Dr. Beet in his preface, "only as a careful student of Holy Scripture, and as one who has derived from that study abundant spiritual blessing." That our author is a careful student of Holy Scripture we have little doubt. But his studies have been self-directed, and his conclusions are often at variance with sound theology. Although Dr. Beet devotes an entire chapter to the vindication of human freedom, yet, at times, he seems to deny freedom. Thus, "This picture of moral bondage is confirmed by Rom. i. 24, 26, 28, where three times we read that the heathen were given up by God to shameful sin. For the conspicuous repetition of the word *gave up* suggests irresistibly surrender to a hostile power against which their own unaided moral efforts were powerless" (p. 18). "Multitudes have felt themselves to be carried along and carried downward by immoral forces in themselves which they were unable to resist" (p. 19). "The loss of moral liberty reveals how far man has fallen below the moral dignity for which he was created"

(p. 20). Original sin seems to be nothing more than a "tendency to evil" existing in all men as a consequence of Adam's sin (p. 31). Baptism is chiefly a "formal confession of Christ," and in this sense is a "source," or more strictly a "condition," of "new birth" (pp. 84, 85). Faith is a "mental rest in an idea." Saving faith is "an assurance resting upon the word and power and love of God, that He will fulfil to us His promise of salvation" (p. 153). We find little on grace and less on habitual grace. Holiness is either objective or subjective. "Objective holiness" means the claim that God has upon His adopted sons that they should become holy. "Subjective holiness" means holiness as an aim to be pursued. "It will, I think, be found that where the subjects of Christ are spoken of as actually *holy*, the word is used objectively, as noting what God claims them to be; but that where it is used in a subjective sense for actual and unreserved devotion to God, holiness is represented as an aim to be pursued" (p. 120). Enough has been said to show how much at variance with Catholic theology are the conclusions of Dr. Beet. But while from a doctrinal standpoint we must condemn the book, we are glad to admit that, from a literary point of view, the book has many merits, and that it is absolutely free from the spirit of bigotry.

Cogitationes Concionales. By JOHN M. ASHLEY, B.C.L. London: John Hodges, Bedford Street, Strand. 1895. Pp. 216.

IT is a very difficult matter to pass judgment on a volume of sermons. We may decide, indeed, whether doctrinally they are sound or not. We may, perhaps, be able to decide whether they do or do not conform to the rules of art. But, given that they contain nothing offensive to sound doctrine, only their success or want of success can determine their value as sermons. To say that they ought, or ought not, to be successful is to speak beside the point. The good sermon is the sermon that convinces and moves. But it is not always the best argument that convinces; and it is not always the best appeal that moves. What electrifies one audience will cause another audience to yawn. Whether the former audience has a right to be electrified, or the latter audience is entitled to yawn, is nothing to the purpose. The fact is that the same oration has profoundly moved one set of people and has sent another well nigh to sleep. We cannot, then, forecast the success of a sermon. This being the case, we gladly abstain from passing any judgment on the "Cogitationes Concionales" of Mr. Ashley, which contain two hun-

dred and sixteen short sermon reflections on the Sunday Gospels, and are declared by their author to be founded upon selected readings from the Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas. If Mr. Ashley had stated that each sermon contained a short passage of some eight lines, on an average, from the Summa, he would have more accurately represented the relation of these sermon notes to St. Thomas. Personally, though for the reasons given we form no judgment, we do not value these sermons very highly. But it is interesting to find Mr. Ashley, who some years ago translated the "Homilies of St. Thomas," again manifesting his appreciation of the master theologian.

A History of the Councils of the Church. By C. J. HEFELE, D.D., Bishop of Rottenburg. Vol. IV. Translated into English. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

A FRESH volume of Bishop Hefele's great work in an English dress is a welcome sight. And this volume is of special importance, for it contains a summary of the history of Pope Vigilius and the Fifth Œcumenical Council, to which so much literature has been devoted, and on which so many misconceptions exist.

Mr. Newman (as he then was) once selected the case of Vigilius for one of his most powerful and scathing arguments against the Papacy, and it has recently been adduced by the Rev. F. W. Puller ("Primitive Saints," &c., p. 318) as conclusive against "Papal claims." We can, happily, appeal from Mr. Newman to Cardinal Newman, that is, from logic misapplied to real historical knowledge. And possibly Mr. Puller would not have written as he has, if he had possessed such a complete account of the Fifth General Council as is given in this volume of Hefele's history. He could hardly have given the following as a true description of matters, viz., "In February 552, S. Mennas, Patriarch of Constantinople, anathematised the same Pope Vigilius, and was himself anathematised by the Pope. The two prelates were reconciled in the following June; and two months afterwards S. Mennas died in the odour of sanctity." Hefele, in this newly translated volume, would have taught this writer that Mennas first refused to sign the Imperial edict condemning the "Three Chapters," without the Apostolic See, or, as it actually runs in the original, "without Apostolic leave," *i.e.*, without leave from Rome. Having afterwards departed from this principle he was removed from Church communion by Vigilius, and then (as Hefele drily remarks) "naturally, Mennas now had the name of the

Pope struck out of the diptychs of his Church," that is to say, being out of Church communion, he acted improperly. But before he died, as Hefele points out, this same Mennas, together with many other Greek Bishops, "asked forgiveness of the Pope for having, during the time of division, held communion with those whom the Pope had excommunicated."

The special feature, however, of the volume before us is the full and lucid statement of the nature of the Three Chapters. Hefele shows with great power how possible it was to condemn, or to refuse to condemn, them (as Vigilius alternately did) in the interest of prudence and without either way compromising the Faith. The real question before the Pope was, at first, one of discipline and government—how best to preserve due reverence for the Council of Chalcedon. When it came to a conciliar investigation of whether the Faith had been transgressed by Theodore, and in some writings of Theodoret, and in the letter of Ibas (*i.e.*, the "Three Chapters" or heads of inquiry) the Pope's decision was perpetually quoted by Emperor and Council, although at the time he had withdrawn the decision, to which, however, he afterwards returned. Throughout the seven years of discussion, one thing appears plain, *viz.*, that no one really thought that any decision could be final which was not ratified by the Holy See. And when the Emperor and Council for a moment separated themselves from Vigilius, they expressly stated that they did not mean to withdraw "from the unity of the Apostolic See"—drawing, indeed, an untenable distinction between the See and its occupant, but showing that the entire Church recognised the necessity of communion with the See of the Apostle Peter.

There are one or two points in this volume on which Hefele does not seem to have expended the same painstaking care as on the history of Vigilius. In dealing with the time that elapsed between the fourth and fifth Councils, necessarily with a lack of detail, he falls, for instance, into an error in regard to the two Archbishops of Constantinople, Euphemius and Macedonius. He thinks that in the confessions of faith sent by Pope Hormisdas to the Bishops of the East, these Archbishops were meant to be included amongst the followers of Acacius, on whom an anathema was passed by the Holy See (p. 122, "Eng. Tr."). "E'en Homer sometimes nods"; and our Homer has here misread the document in question. The anathema is pronounced on Acacius, because *he* became the follower of Eutyches, Dioscorus, Timothy, and Peter [heretics]; Euphemius and St. Macedonius never followed them, but did refuse to erase from the diptychs the name of Acacius, who did. For this refusal, the Pope insisted on the names of Euphemius and Macedonius being erased

from the diptychs; but he did not anathematise them. The "followers" were not, as Hefele thinks, the followers of Acacius, but of Eutyches, &c. Natalis Alexander pointed this out (*Hist. Eccl.* sæc. v. pars ii. diss. xx. ed. 1786); and Mansi endorsed his opinion, as also Pagi, in his *Critica*, Ann. 519, n. 3, *seq.* The mistake which Hefele made was due probably to oversight, for he does not discuss the question. Hergenrother has pointed out the fallacy on which the idea of St. Macedonius having been anathematised generally rests, viz., a confusion between the erasure of a name from the diptychs and excommunication (*Geschichte, Periode*, i. § 163). Ducange in his glossary (Paris, 1733, tom iii.) gives the real significance of the removal of a person's name for the diptychs.

As regards the translation of this volume, we regret to be unable to speak of it in high terms. The English is often involved where the German original is quite clear; and this, in a work which under any circumstances must tax the reader's attention, is a serious drawback. But, further, the translation not infrequently quite fails to convey the right meaning; and the misprints are too frequent to enable us to speak as we should wish of the workmanship as a whole. For instance, to take section 257, in which Bishop Hefele treats with great fulness and power of the fifteenth anathematisms on Origen. On p. 221, it is said, in reference to Peter Lambeck's discovery of them, that they "*had* become" incorporated in all the collections of Councils, instead of that they *afterwards* "passed into" the collections. So on the same page "have ascribed" should be "ascribed." On the next page we find "what could they [*i.e.*, the Apostles and martyrs] desire for an apocatastasis," &c., which gives a wrong idea. It is a question of what we should regard them as attaining to, not what they desire. *Erlangen* is often simply "attain." On p. 223, "Valesius, even in his time," would set the reader thinking, Why *even* in his time? It should be simply, "already." Lower down "Secundus" should be "Facundus," and, *still on this same page*, the argument is quite lost in the translation "it is not absolutely certain that . . . there were only transactions of a general kind on the subject of Origen." Hefele really says that it is not certain that the case of Origen was dealt with at all. Such must be the meaning of *überhaupt*. The second anathematism on Origen is seriously misrepresented by translating *habe bestanden* "has arisen from," instead of "consisted of," and in the note to the sixth, *vorübergangen* is translated "gone over to," instead of "passed through or by," thus missing the Origenistic idea, which was intended to be conveyed by a certain mistranslation. In the eighth, *καταχρηστικῶς* is translated "by abuse," which is not quite

the equivalent of Hefele's word, but rather "improperly," as opposed to *κρυπῶς*. These, however, are but minor instances of mistranslation, which we mention more because of their frequency than their gravity. There are others much more serious. For instance, one of the most important passages in the book is the careful condemnation of Nestorianism and Eutychianism contained in the anathematisms issued by the Fifth Œcumenical Council. Here, if anywhere, we should expect some care in the translation. But the errors are both numerous and serious. For instance, in condemning the Nestorian conception of the union between the Godhead and the manhood in the one Christ, the Council anathematizes certain expressions in current use among the Nestorians. The union, it says in its fourth anathematism, is not one of grace, nor of co-operation, nor of equality of honour and distinction, nor *κατὰ ἀναφορὰν ἢ σχέσιν*. These last two words are positively translated in the volume before us, thus—viz., "by a carrying up and condition!" *Ἀναφορὰ*, in the Nestorian sense of the term, means 'reference,' as though our Lord were worshipped not as God, but in "reference" to God. And *κατὰ σχέσιν* is the regular phrase for "by accident," "unessential." St. Cyril in his treatise headed "Christ is one, by way of dispute with Hermias," enters at length into the misconception contained in the idea that the union of the Godhead and manhood in Christ was only *κατ' ἀναφορὰν*, in the way of "reference," and not, as the Catholic faith is, because of an hypostatic union. Hefele has translated the word correctly by *beziehung*, which means "reference"; but the translator, apparently not perceiving the theological bearing of the term, has deliberately changed his translation into what is no sense. The second phrase *κατὰ σχέσιν* is also rightly translated by Hefele *verhältnissweise*, "by way of relation," i.e., not essential. "Condition" as the translator has it, conveys no meaning. Further on, in the same important anathematism, the translator gives no apodosis to the beginning of the sentence, and indeed destroys the connection between the first and second halves of the paragraph, by stopping short and then beginning a new sentence with "but if anyone." It should be, as Hefele correctly translates the Greek, simply *und wer nicht bekennt*, carrying on the sentence and showing the truth which on pain of anathema, the same supposed person must confess. Again, the introduction of the word "however," later on in the same paragraph, destroys the meaning. It is neither in the Greek nor in the German. So much for one single and most important paragraph. The eighth anathematism does not fare much better. It opens with a sentence out of which we defy any one to extract the least sense, in the translation before us, clear and simple though the Greek

original and Hefele's German translation are. It says, "If any one does not take the expressions, of two natures, the Godhead and manhood, the union took place, or, the one incarnate nature of the Word, as the holy Fathers taught, that from the divine nature and the human, personal union having taken place, one Christ was constituted," &c. And after this incoherent jumble of words, for which neither the Greek nor German are responsible, the paragraph ends with a most unfortunate misprint, which gives a wrong doctrinal turn to the whole, viz., "confess" instead of "confuse." On p. 300, in the account of Vigilius the history is altered by the use of wrong tenses, whilst on p. 251, the last few lines make the examination to hinge on the question "whether the Pope could agree to give the final decision, whilst the bishops present had only to give counsels," instead of its being a conference to see if the Pope could find it in him to adhere to the condemnation of the Three Chapters, "a question on which he consulted the bishops present." The translation suggests a different doctrine from the original.

Lastly, one translation runs throughout this volume, against which we must strongly protest. Θεοτόκος is invariably rendered here "the God-bearer," instead of "Mother of God." Now the English word "God-bearer" is equivocal—it might mean "he or she who bears God," in the sense that St. Ignatius called himself the "God-bearer," *quâ* Christian. That is to say, it is equally a translation of the very word (Θεοφόρος) which Nestorius wished to substitute for Θεοτόκος. It is unfair to Bishop Hefele to introduce such an equivocal term, when he uses one that can only relate to child-bearing, and is therefore the exact equivalent of "Mother of God." The importance of this in dealing with the history of the fifth and early sixth century cannot be overrated. The Oxford translation of St. Cyril of Alexandria's works against Nestorius has set a good example, always translating Θεοτόκος simply "Mother of God." And Canon Bright, of Oxford, has recently said, "the phrase [Mother of God] is, for English-speaking Christians, the only practical representative of 'Theotocos,' and we must do the best with it we can" (*Waymarks*, p. 181). It is much to be deplored, considering the tendency that exists amongst non-Catholics in England to Nestorian conceptions of the Incarnation, that such a misleading translation of the crucial word "Theotocos" should be introduced, and that under cover of Hefele's name. We are sorry to be obliged to add that the index to this volume is very inadequate, only covering five pages as against sixteen covered by the index to the previous volume.

L. R.

The Religions of Japan, from the Dawn of History to the Era of Méiji. By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1895.

IT is a pity that the writer of the article on the Catholic Church in Japan in an April issue had not the benefit of consulting this invaluable work when compiling his account of the history of Christianity in Nippon. He would have found therein much of great value and would have been able to quote several telling passages in confirmation of parts of his narrative. The special value of Dr. Griffis's book is that he has for the first time placed in the hands of scholars a really complete and scholarly history of the various forms of religion which have prevailed among the remarkable race of the Japanese from prehistoric times to the "Méiji Era" (*i.e.* 1868). For the first time, especially, we have now added to the library of standard works on the great religious systems, a fairly complete and clear account of Shintoism, the national religion of Japan, *par excellence*.

The book would deserve and even require a whole article of this REVIEW to do it justice. We must, however, content ourselves with a very brief notice of its salient features. The work falls into four distinct parts, as follows:—1. Primitive Shamanism, or "Religion before Books," (chap. i.); 2. The Shinto, or "National Japanese Mythology and Ritual" (chaps. ii. iii.); 3. Chinese Ethical Systems, principally Confucianism (chaps. iv. v.); 4. Buddhism, as introduced from Northern Asia, and subsequently assimilated and modified (chaps. vi.–x.); 5. Christianity, from St. Francis Xavier to the present day (chaps. xi. xii.). An admirable appendix of 172 pages of notes and illustrations, and a capital index complete a most instructive and even fascinating book.

Concerning the general course of history in Japan, we venture to sum up in the following brief table what we gather to be Dr. Griffis's idea of the sequence of events, political as well as religious:

<i>Century.</i>	<i>Form of Government.</i>	<i>Prevailing Form of Religion.</i>
<i>Circa A.D. 200.</i>	Rude feudalism.	Fetichism, nature-cult, ancestor-cult, sun-worship.
6th to 12th.	Centralised imperialism.	Shinto, the Mikado's religion, Buddhism introduced; Confucian <i>ethics</i> prevail.
17th to 19th.	Feudalism.	Buddhism prevails.
1868 to present day.	Revived imperialism.	Shinto revival, Buddhism remaining the popular religion.

Perhaps the most interesting section is that devoted to Shintoism, or "the Shin-to" (lit. "way of the gods," as opposed to Butsu-do or

"way of Buddha") concerning which our notions have hitherto been so very misty. This system, also called "Kami No Michi," or worship of the Kami or Spirits, was really the special religion of the Yamato tribe. This tribe, exactly like the Incas in Ancient Peru, gradually established its predominance over all the other feudal tribes of "prehistoric" Japan, probably about the beginning of the Saxon Dominion in England, and set up the Mikado or imperial system, which, after its temporary eclipse of seven centuries, was restored to its supremacy by the present Emperor. Hence it is that the revival of Mikadoism has also been the revival of Shinto.

Dr. Griffis's weakest section is that which treats of Buddhism, at least before its arrival in Japan. Here his accurate Japanese scholarship deserts him, and he finds himself at sea in a somewhat helpless fashion. Thus we find him talking of Sanskrit as "the common ancestor of our own and of most European tongues" (p. 157) a blunder which is not excused in a schoolboy nowadays. He seems to imagine the jains—and even the modern Babis of Persia—to be Buddhists (p. 166). The whole account of original Buddhism (pp. 160–164) is weak and incorrect. The name of the Buddha, Çakya (Muni) is unfortunately confused with that of Shaka (p. 160), whilst the writer's unfamiliarity with Sanskrit and the deplorable consequences of the Max-Mullerian system of transcription in the "Sacred Books of the East" have proved for Dr. Griffis, as for so many other unwary writers, a constant source of mis-spelling. Everywhere we have g's for j's and k's for c's. Altogether, this section requires revision by a competent hand.

It was perhaps inevitable, too, that the writer's references to Catholic teaching and practice should be marked occasionally by what may be rather misapprehension than prejudice. Such blemishes are rare; whilst his account of the heroic days of the early missionaries and martyrs is full of sympathy and appreciation, and agrees substantially with our own.

In conclusion, we consider Dr. Griffis's scholarly work to be indispensable to the library of every student of Comparative Religion.

Vedic India as Embodied Principally in the Rig-Veda. By ZÉNAIDE A. RAGOZIN (The Story of the Nations.) London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895.

MADAME RAGOZIN, though not exactly a specialist, is so well and favourably known by her former contributions to this excellent series of histories—viz.: "Chaldea," "Assyria," and the

one rather miscalled "Media"—that one naturally expects great things on receiving from her hands a volume on Vedic India. Madame Ragozin is really a most skilled "populariser" in the best sense of the term, and she does not disappoint us in her present venture. Her story is admirably told, and it is astonishing how, without being herself an Orientalist, she is able to utilise so surely and correctly the wide selection of specialist writers, of whom she faithfully gives us the list, and who could not have been better selected. Here and there we find statements with which we cannot altogether agree. Transcription, too, has proved a frequent stumbling block, and is not only often incorrect, but also inconsistent. We constantly meet the clumsy and unnecessary French system of writing "dj" for "j," "tch" for "ch," etc.; and still worse, "sh" is constantly used for Ç or S, as it was commonly written. We even meet "ashva" for "horse!" (p. 230).

But these are minor points. If anybody desires a complete account of what the Vedas are, what they teach and tell, what state of society and culture they bear witness to, and what light they shed on Early Indian history, we can confidently recommend them to Madame Ragozin's guidance. In the matter of history, we are glad to notice that she is so well "up-to-date" as to utilise to their full extent Mr. J. F. Hewitt's invaluable papers in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, which have quite revolutionised our old notions of Early India.

But this being so, why, we wonder, does our writer constantly refer to Sir W. W. Hunter as "Mr. Hunter"? And, above all, with the Census results of 1891 ready at hand in a multitude of popular handbooks, why does she give us all her statistics from that of "1872"? These slips, it may be hoped, will be rectified in a future edition of so useful a book.

The International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1. *Judges*, by Rev. G. F. Moore, D.D. (pp. l. 454). 2. *Romans*, by REV. WM. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., and Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, B.D. (pp. c. ix. 436).

WE have already received three volumes of the new "International Critical Commentary," and it may be said that they augur well for the high order of scholarship to be expected in the forthcoming volumes of the series.

The Commentary on the "Book of Judges" is by Dr. Moore, Professor of Hebrew at Andover Theological Seminary, Mass., U.S.A.,

and is a highly valuable addition to the literature of the "Book of Judges." It does not contain very much that is original, but the author has evidently made himself thoroughly master of the literature of his subject and, in adopting a view on any debating question, he exercises an independent judgment, and does not fail, when necessary, to set forth at length the reasons which have led him to adopt the opinions he holds.

The Commentary is preceded by an introduction of considerable length, treating, amongst other things, of the place of Judges in the canon, the history, character, and aim of Judges, and the sources from which the book is derived.

Considerable attention is also devoted to the vexed question of the chronology of the book.

Whilst we are in agreement with much that Dr. Moore writes, there are many matters on which we do not find ourselves in accord with him. Thus, when discussing the import of the name Kirjath-sepher (p. 25), he asserts that Professor Sayce, upon the mere strength of the etymology of the word, considers it to have been the "seat of a famous library, like those of the great cities of Babylonia and Assyria." But it is clear from Professor Sayce's remarks in his work on the "Higher Criticism," that he by no means relies merely on the etymology of the word in forming his opinions as to the literary character of Kirjath-sepher. He was also influenced by the known prevalence of the Babylonian tongue in Palestine, by the known literary activity which existed throughout western Asia in the days of Khu-n-Aken, and by the natural deduction that schools must have existed in many places, to make such a state of things possible.

So too, Dr. Moore does not seem to attach sufficient weight to the light thrown by Archæology on the history of Judges, when he declares that the invasion of Canaan referred to in Judges iii. 7-11 "is highly improbable if not beyond the bounds of possibility" (p. 85).

Nor can we agree with Dr. Moore in finding such utter discord between the two accounts of the death of Sisera contained in the fourth and fifth chapters of Judges (p. 117, *et seq.*) He does not seem to us to attach sufficient importance to the highly corrupt state in which a large portion of the fifth chapter has reached us. Nor do we agree with his view as to the legendary character of the history of Jephthah (p. 284).

There are, in fact, a large number of points on which we cannot follow Dr. Moore, but, all this notwithstanding, we think that the new Commentary will prove a valuable addition to the literature of the "Book of Judges."

The name of Dr. Sanday, who, together with the Rev. A. Headlam, has edited the Commentary on "Romans," is a sufficient guarantee of the learned and scholarly character of that work.

The introduction contains, among other things, a very interesting account of the early Roman Church; and though Dr. Sanday does not go so far as a Catholic would wish, relative to St. Peter's connection with Rome, still he makes some important concessions on the subject. Thus, in one place (p. 31), he writes as follows, when criticising the views of Lipsius as to St. Peter's connection with Rome:

The traces of the Petro-Pauline tradition are really earlier than those of the Ebionite legend. The way in which they are introduced is free from all suspicion. They are supported by collateral evidence (St. Peter's first epistle and the traditions relating to St. Mark), the weight of which is considerable. There is practically no conflicting tradition. The claim of the Roman Church to joint foundation by the two Apostles seems to have been nowhere disputed. And even the Ebionite fiction is more probable as a distortion of facts that have a basis of truth than a pure invention. The visit of St. Peter to Rome, and his death there at some uncertain date, seem to us, if not removed beyond all possibility of doubt, yet as well established as many of the leading facts of history.

If the forthcoming volumes of the "International Critical Commentary" maintain the high standard attained to by the volumes of "Deuteronomy," "Judges," and "Romans," the series will undoubtedly take a high position amongst the works dealing with sacred Scripture.

J. A. H.

Essay on Indifference in Matters of Religion. By THE ABBÉ DE LAMENNAIS. Translated by LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY. London: Jn. Macqueen, 1895. 8vo. Pp. xl.-300.

THE name of the Abbé F. de Lamennais is not unknown to the Catholic world. Born in the latter portion of the last century (1782), he soon gave evidence of a zeal, an earnestness and an ability which won for him an almost universal admiration among his co-religionists. Of a philosophical and speculative turn of mind, he soon brought his talents to bear upon some of the most vexed questions of his day. Bold almost to rashness, and confident of himself and of his judgment of men and things, he wrote upon political and civil subjects in a way to bring himself not only under the notice of the government, but into the power of the police, who forbade and suppressed some of his earlier writings.

He received minor orders, and, after some delay and much hesitation, resolved finally to advance to the order of the priesthood. He seemed to have been led to take this step partly through the

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advice of his friends and partly through a genuine desire to tread the higher and more generous path to heaven, for his natural inclination was not towards the clerical state. In 1815, when already three-and-thirty years old, he confided his secret to his sister, declaring at the same time :

Ce n'est sûrement pas mon goût que j'ai écouté . . . mais enfin, il faut tâcher de mettre à profit pour le ciel cette vie si courte.

He was a most sincere and devoted son of the Church, and both his letters and his writings show him to have been, at all events during the early part of his strange career, above the average in practical piety and personal holiness. In a letter to a friend about the year 1817 he exclaims with some warmth :

Plus je vis et plus je réfléchis, plus je me confirme dans la conviction qu'il n'existe ici-bas de sagesse et de bonheur que dans un christianisme pratique. Hors de là je ne vois que folie et misère sans ressource.

Noble words ; bubbling straight from a noble heart ! His famous "Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de Religion," of which the book before us is a worthy translation, appeared in 1817, and produced an electric effect, not merely all over France, but, we might also say, throughout the religious world. It was recognised as a masterly exposition of a great and a practical subject ; the author's name was in every mouth, and great expectations were raised upon every side.

The second volume, which appeared some time later, was not so well received. It contained views, and upheld principles, which were new, at least in the mouth of a priest, and which were thought by many to be unsound, dangerous, and even uncatholic. Hot discussions followed. The matter became subject of general comment and conversation ; it was ventilated by the press, and taken up seriously even by the bishops. De Lamennais defended himself and his doctrines in a new journal which he founded himself, and called *L'Avenir*. This only added violence to the storm. The editor and his associates were accused of every excess. Such epithets as "Revolutionaries," and "Heretics," and "Schismatics" were freely bestowed upon them, and in many dioceses the faithful were positively forbidden to possess or to read the obnoxious paper.

Still de Lamennais retained his composure, and resolved to appeal to Rome. He forwarded both "L'Essai" itself and his "Défense de l'Essai" to the Holy Father, Leo XII., asking that they should be examined, and offering in advance every assurance that he would submit to any decision to which the Pope should come. They were not merely allowed to pass without any censure, but the Abbé had

the additional satisfaction of seeing them translated into Italian and published with the most formal ecclesiastical approval. Even had they been condemned de Lamennais would no doubt, at this time, have shown perfect submission to the papal authority. He was not merely outspoken, but even vehement in his declarations of loyalty to the Holy See.

Je demeure inébranlablement attaché à l'enseignement invariable du chef de l'Eglise; que sa foi est ma foi, sa doctrine ma doctrine, et que jusqu'à mon dernier soupir, je continuerai de la professer et de la défendre,"

were words he wrote about this period—but words unfortunately not destined to be fulfilled.

Time passed and circumstances changed, and he changed with them. Pope Leo XII., who had befriended him, died. On the other hand, his enemies increased in number and in strength, while he himself grew less cautious and circumspect, and committed himself to many sentiments, principles, and opinions which could hardly be expected to find favour with orthodox Catholics. Some of his extreme doctrines were finally condemned at Rome by the next Pope, and though Gregory XVI. did not allow either his name or the title of his books to appear in the document, the doctrines condemned were easily traceable to their true author.

The life that had begun with such glorious promise, and had opened out with so much brilliance, closed in gloom and darkness. When lying on his bed of sickness he sought nothing of the ordinary solaces of religion. He asked neither for priest nor for sacraments. His niece, who was greatly attached to him, with much tenderness said:—"Féli, veux-tu un prêtre? . . . Tu veux un prêtre, n'est ce pas?" He merely said "Non." The niece attempted to persuade him: "Je t'en supplie," she cried. But he merely answered with a stronger voice:—"Non; non; non; qu'on me laisse en paix." "C'est lui," said the weeping girl, addressing those that stood near, "qui m'a faite chrétienne, et il est bien triste de le voir mourir, et mourir *comme cela*."

Not a word was said as they laid his body in the tomb, and when the gravedigger asked: "Faut il mettre une croix?" M. Barbet replied with a monosyllabic "Non!" His brother, the Abbé Jean, died shortly afterwards of grief.

Such is a brief outline of the life of the talented author of "The Essay on Indifference in Matters of Religion," and we feel that, even this slight knowledge of the man, will enable the general reader to appreciate more justly the general value and scope of the work. Perhaps the best summary of its contents is supplied in the words of the author's preface. Our intention is, he says,

to show that religious indifference which is vaunted as the last effort of reason, and the most precious benefit of philosophy, is absurd in its principles as it is fatal in its effects. Now we hope to surround these two propositions with so much evidence, that even those who might retain the sorry bravery of denying them will not make any attempt to combat them by reasoning. In the first place, nothing is so absurd as indifference We will prove it, and we will besides show that there exists, for all men in general, and for each man in particular, a sure, easy, infallible means of convincing himself of the necessity of religion, and of discerning the true one. In the second place, nothing is more fatal than indifference, because it leads directly to every calamity as to every crime, because it imperceptibly enervates and destroys all the moral faculties ; and lastly, because it is incompatible with the order or even the existence of society.

The careful student of the Essay will find that in the course of the three hundred pages the author has redeemed his promise, and made good his word. It is a work which seems to possess a special value to-day, since religious indifference is one of the chief characteristics of the age.

J. S. V.

The Life of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. By R. T. WOODHOUSE, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1895. Pp. 168.

MR. WOODHOUSE thinks that Cardinal Morton has been the "victim of a hard and unmerited sentence of oblivion," and tries to redeem this error by replacing him "on the pedestal of his own self-made position." The attempt is a praiseworthy one, but it is somewhat marred by the author allowing himself to be diverted from this legitimate object to one much more questionable, namely, a glorification of Erastianism. Of Morton himself up to the time of his appointment as Master of the Rolls in 1472, when he was upwards of fifty, the author has very little to say. This is not his fault ; but then, why write a book on it? Apparently conscious of the conjectural character of the first few chapters, he has eked them out by adding the contents of his scrap-book—a heterogeneous collection of facts or fictions utterly irrelevant to each other or to the subject of the work. He confesses that "the chronicles of the time of John Morton are singularly meagre and dull. The causes are not far to seek." He then mentions what he deems to be the causes, of which the second is

The ecclesiastical independence of the English Church, which had defied the most powerful of the mediæval Popes, and had been fortified by the statutes of Provisors and Premunire, was seriously threatened by the growth of ultramontane influences, while its resources were assisted by democratic agitation.

This extract will give our readers an idea of the author's historical knowledge and logical acumen. That we have not exaggerated in attributing to him a desire to glorify Erastianism is clear from the following passage on p. 17: "Here again John Morton learned to value and appreciate the divine privilege centred in royalty, which in after years he was to do so much to augment and consolidate." But it seems that John Morton could "value and appreciate" other things as well; for, according to our author, he "must have been glad when his student days were over, and when, as Vice-Chancellor of Oxford in 1446, he could enjoy greater comfort and a more luxurious mode of living." Not a very exalted ideal this. As a sample of the author's notes *à propos* of nothing, take the following, which we transcribe verbatim from p. 35:

Seculars were the parish clergy,
Regulars were the monks.

After this recondite piece of information there follows immediately:

Cluniac reforms were the attempt to insist upon (1) universal celibacy of the clergy; (2) abstinence from sinning (*sic*), so as to be independent of the great men of the world; (3, added later) the refusal to receive from laymen the ring and staff and signs of their authority. The date of the Domesday Book was 1086; it was so called because everything that every man possessed was written therein; and it was as impossible to appeal from it as from the Last Judgment.

Again, what are we to make of this sentence in a note on the marriage of priests? "In June, by a tradition of Roman date, the bishop was bishop of the city."

Then follows an equally irrelevant note, in which he quotes a letter written March 25, 1471, and remarks that there is "no allusion to the death of the Warwick king-maker at Barnet, April 14th." Why a letter written on the 25th of March should make an allusion to a fact which happened subsequently we entirely fail to see.

From the time when Morton became a historical personage the author is content with furnishing us with copious extracts from Hook's *Lives*, Gairdner's *Henry VII.*, Budden's *Life* and other works; the result of which is an incoherent patchwork devoid of logical or chronological sequence. His own brief contributions are singularly inane. Thus he shows the "great munificence" of his hero by the fact that "he liberally expended money in raising early strawberries in Holborn." There is an appendix of 40 pages, containing such information as the following" (2-3 *Henry VII.*, 1487-8):

"Constant reference to the purchase of capons, gifts of money by the king to the minstrels of the Cardinal, shows that the Cardinal was not a total abstainer." (From what?)

But we have said enough to enable our readers to estimate the scope and character of this work; and so we leave it with a feeling of compassion for poor John Morton, who has been made to stand on such a rickety "pedestal."

F. W.

Essais Diplomatiques. L'Empereur Guillaume I^{er} et Le Prince Bismarck. La Triple Alliance. La Paix Armée et ses conséquences. Ma Mission à Ems. Par Le Comte BENEDETTI. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1895.

OF these essays, the most interesting to the general public will be the last, which deals with those few most critical days immediately preceding one of the most important events of this century, the French and Prussian War. On the 4th of July, 1870, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen consented to become a candidate for the throne of Spain. This gave great umbrage to the French Government, and on the 6th of the same month, in the Chamber, the Duc de Gramont, Minister of Foreign Affairs, made a speech on the subject, couched in violent language, and very offensive towards Germany. On the 8th, Comte Benedetti, who was then at Wildbad, received orders to proceed to Ems, where the King of Prussia was then staying, and to endeavour to induce him to agree to the following "resolution":—"Le Gouvernement du Roi n'approuve pas l'acceptation du Prince de Hohenzollern et lui donne l'ordre de revenir sur cette détermination prise sans sa permission." The Count was very courteously received by the King, and, having good reasons for knowing the extreme irritation felt in Germany at the hostile language lately used in the French Chamber, he took care to request the King to *advise* Prince Leopold to withdraw his candidature, instead of asking him to *order* him to do so. King William replied that the negotiations regarding the throne of Spain had been carried on exclusively between the Princes of Hohenzollern and the Spanish Government; that when, on their conclusion, Prince Leopold and his father, Prince Antoine, had asked for his consent, he had considered himself unable to refuse it; but that Prince Leopold had since then shown a disposition to withdraw his candidature, whereupon the King had expressed his strong approval of such a withdrawal. Comte Benedetti then sent a despatch to his government, stating that the end desired had been happily attained by the spontaneous action of

Prince Leopold. On the 10th the Duc de Gramont telegraphed to Comte Benedetti that the line he had taken was not that which had been indicated to him by the Emperor's government. After receiving this quasi-reprimand, the Count obtained another audience from the King, and sent a long despatch to the Duke describing what took place. It informed him that on being pressed for permission to send a despatch to Paris to the effect that Prince Leopold had refused the offer of the Spanish crown at the suggestion of the King of Prussia, the King had asked for the delay of a day or two to consider the matter, and had intimated that any undue hurry on the part of the French government would have the appearance of a desire to provoke a war. Comte Benedetti ended by observing that, in spite of all his efforts, the King persisted in saying that he neither could nor would *order* the Prince to withdraw from his promise to the Spanish government; but that if the Prince were to renounce the crown voluntarily, as he fully believed he would, he should have no hesitation in expressing his own full approval of such a step. The first communication received from the French government by Comte Benedetti, on the morning of the 12th, seemed to imply satisfaction at his conduct of the affair; "*Nous approuvons le langage que vous avez tenu en dernier lieu,*" said de Gramont; but shortly afterwards came a telegram beginning "*Très confidentiel,*" and asking him to endeavour to put himself into a position to officially inform his government that the renunciation of Prince Leopold had been communicated to him either by the King of Prussia or his government; "*annoncée, communiquée ou transmise*" being the words used. "This is, to us, a matter of the very highest importance," said the telegram; and it added that the personal participation of the King himself in the affair must be obtained at any price.

Just as Comte Benedetti had brought his very difficult and delicate piece of diplomacy to, as he had believed, a successful issue, it was very embarrassing to receive such a telegram. As, he says, the fiction that Prince Leopold had resigned his pretensions to the crown of Spain spontaneously deceived nobody. The whole of Europe was well aware that the Prussian candidate had in reality acted in obedience to the advice of his sovereign.

At seven o'clock in the evening the Duc de Gramont again telegraphed to the effect that the Spanish Ambassador in Paris had informed the French government of the renunciation of the Spanish throne by Prince Antoine in the name of his son; but he ordered Comte Benedetti to demand from the King of Prussia a solemn promise never to authorise his candidature for it if the question should be again raised. About eleven came yet another telegram

from the Duc de Gramont, stating that the Emperor had instructed him to give Comte Benedetti to understand that the communication from the Spanish Ambassador was not enough to satisfy the just demands of the French government, and that he must *insist* upon the King of Prussia's guarantee against any pretensions on the part of Prince Leopold to the crown of Spain in the future.

Early on the morning of the 13th Comte Benedetti obtained an audience of the King; and, in the most delicate and diplomatic language that the circumstances permitted, he begged him, "pour calmer toutes les inquiétudes, pour raffermir les bonnes relations entre les deux pays," &c., to give some such promise as the Duc de Gramont had suggested. The King replied that this demand was as new as it was unexpected, and he absolutely refused to bind himself to an agreement "sans terme et pour tous les cas." Still the Count was not without hope that, later in the day, the King would yield, at another audience. When he asked for it, however, instead of obtaining it he received a message, through an aide-de-camp, confirming the resolution of the morning, and declining to discuss the matter further. Nevertheless, the Count was not forbidden access to the King, who received him, in fact, before leaving Ems, but would not discuss political questions. In the afternoon of the 13th the King wrote to Count Bismarck, placing the whole matter in his hands. The disastrous consequences are but too well known.

We have not space to notice either of the other essays, "The Emperor William I. and Prince Bismarck," "The Triple Alliance," or "The Armed Peace and its Consequences;" but we may say that all of them, if very highly coloured from Comte Benedetti's own point of view, will be found exceedingly interesting.

Cenni sul Rito Ambrosiano. Pubblicati in occasione del xiii Congresso Eucharistico. Dal Dott. Marco Magistretti, Maestro delle ss. Cerimonie, &c. Milano: Tipogr. L. F. Cogliati. Via Pantano n. 26. 8vo. Pp. 67.

THIS pamphlet by the learned Master of the Ceremonies of the Cathedral of Milan, has a double aim; the first, to refute the theories advanced by the Abbé Duchesne as to the origin of the Ambrosian Liturgy; the second, to show the sympathetic approval which Rome has always shown to this ancient and venerable Rite.

Duchesne had, perhaps, somewhat harshly concluded that the peculiarities of the Ambrosian Rite were Eastern features imported

into the Milanese Liturgy by Auxentius of Cappadocia, the Arian predecessor of St. Ambrose. The great Doctor did not try to replace them, and so they gradually became identified with his name. Doctor Magistretti's devotion for the Church of Milan makes him naturally loth to accept a theory which would give such a source to a liturgy so often and so emphatically approved by the Holy See, and so dear to the Saints of Milan. He tries to prove that the Ambrosian Liturgy, far from being Eastern in origin, is the ancient Roman rite as used commonly in the West before the Gregorian revision. Duchesne had not admitted the claims of the Church of Milan to an antiquity higher than the third century; the Doctor, while he sets aside as untrustworthy the legend of the connection of the Apostle St. Barnabas with his Church, claims for it a sub-Apostolic and Roman origin, in accordance with the teaching of St. Peter Damiani and other authorities. To substantiate his theory he brings forward evidence to show that the so-called Eastern features of the Rite, such as the frequent *Kyrie Eleison*, the *pieces* substituted for the *Gloria* in Lent, the three Lections at Mass, were all anciently in use at Rome. We can hardly, however, follow him in his assertion that anciently only one Liturgy (*i.e.*, the Roman) was known in the Church; especially as his only proof of so novel an opinion, is that certain Oriental bishops are said to have con-celebrated with the Pope on their visits to Rome, a fact which would prove a practical acquaintance with the rite used there.

A curious fact is that in 1075 we find the *Ambrosian Chant* in use at Monte Cassino, which certainly looks as if it were the Roman chant of St. Benedict's day. The less debatable part of the pamphlet is also the more interesting—the details, that is to say, of the Apostolic favour shown so constantly to the Ambrosian Rite by the very Popes who were most strenuous in suppressing the Gallican and Mozarabic liturgies. It is also interesting to note that the religious orders who settled in Milan (Benedictines, Austin Canons, Cistercians, Humiliati), were all obliged to follow the Ambrosian Rite, a rite so dear to St. Charles that not only did he plead eloquently and successfully for its retention, but refused even to admit the Hieronymite Fathers to his city when the plague made their services most necessary, except on one condition of adopting the Liturgy of his Church.

The author shows peculiar zeal in proving this special favour shown to his Rite, both as a proof of his theory as to its origin, and as a practical *apologia* even now not unnecessary; for, as he tells us, he was himself once forbidden to celebrate the Ambrosian Rite when travelling in Switzerland on the plea that the Holy See regarded it with disfavour and only tolerated it in the Diocese of Milan. When

the long-promised critical edition of the Ambrosian books at length appear, we shall be in a better position to judge of the tenability of our author's theory.

D. B. C.

Les Assemblées Provinciales de la Gaule Romaine. Par ERNEST CARRETTE. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1895. 8vo. Pp. 502.

IT is, perhaps, from these provincial assemblies that ecclesiastical assemblies got their name of "council." Students of antiquities and of Roman law are familiar with these reunions of provincial magnates, which took place throughout the Roman Empire, yearly in the West, in the East perhaps less frequently. The little that is known in detail concerning them is from inscriptions and from casual notices in historians. For Ancient Gaul, the records are somewhat less deficient than for the rest of the world, and the subject has supplied matter for several monographs in France of late years, amongst which the present work is the latest and most complete. The discovery in 1888 of a bronze inscription at Narbonne (it was presented to the Louvre by M. A. Démy, uncle of M. Carrette) has increased our knowledge of these councils and of their president, the *sacerdos provinciae*. The origin of this office goes up to the beginning of the empire. Immediately after the battle of Actium the victorious Octavian was implored by the cities of Pergamus and Nicomedia to permit them to raise a temple in his honour, which the conqueror graciously allowed. Soon afterwards in every province a temple of Rome and Augustus was erected, with a Priest, who received the title of *flamen* or *sacerdos provinciae*, and an altar beside the temple, on which solemn sacrifices for the welfare of the empire and in honour of the emperor were yearly offered. On the occasion of this function a council of the province was held, of which the Priest of Rome and Augustus was ex-officio president, and solemn games were celebrated at the expense of the council or of the flamen. The pontiff of the new cultus was decorated with many honourable attributions, resembling the prerogatives of the priest of Jupiter Capitolinus or *flamen dialis* at Rome. On the day of sacrifice he was vested in purple and crowned with gold; and at other times he might wear the *latus clavus* that marked senatorial dignity. He had the first place at all public games, and was preceded by a lictor. He was elected, probably by the council, and held his office for a year, during which time his wife shared his honours under the title of *flaminica*. The *flamen* was usually a man who had passed through all the regular municipal offices in his native town, and had by this

means been for some time a member of the council in the capital of the province, and worthy of the highest grade of civic honour. Care seems to have been taken that all the towns of the district should be successively honoured by receiving this priesthood for one of their citizens. The *flamen* doubtless remained a member of the council for life, under the title of *sacerdotalis*, and on each anniversary of the day when he had performed the great sacrifice, he might assist in his purple robe at the function of his successors.

It is unnecessary to point out the connection of this cultus of the emperor with the history of Christian martyrs. It was probably at one of these festivals that St. Polycarp was martyred at Smyrna and St. Pothinus and his companions at Lyons.

The *concilium provinciae* appears but little in history, and had apparently no influence on the political destinies of the empire during the troublous times changing of dynasties of the first three centuries. It kept up a semblance of representative self-government, and had some control of finance, at least with regard to the expenses of the cultus and of public games. But its principal influence was as an outlet for public opinion at the expiration of the term of office of the governor of the province. It could carry a vote of thanks or erect an inscription or a statue to a popular official, or it could complain to the senate or the emperor of the oppressions and exactions of Verres. The governors had to court the favour of these provincial authorities, and were thus prevented from too arbitrary a use of their otherwise almost unlimited powers.

The political use of this institution of Augustus is obvious. The natural desire for union and for influence among provincials was met, and gathered round the altar of Rome and the Emperor, as a focus of loyalty for what might have become a tendency to rebellion. They were flattered with titles and amused by games, and their president was the priest of the emperor. He became thereby the highest religious functionary of the province, and was even made by Julian a sort of pagan archbishop, having authority over all the priests of other deities.

After Constantine this office was of course forbidden to Christians, though the holding of it did not involve apostasy if the sacrifice was not personally offered. M. Carrette, in an interesting chapter on the persistence of the cultus of the emperor after the time of Constantine, shows us that the court etiquette which Diocletian introduced was not at once abolished, and that until Theodosius Christian sovereigns allowed themselves to be treated as gods; while Constantine himself instituted a priesthood in Africa in his own honour and that of his mother St. Helena, though possibly no religious sacrifices

were actually intended. The tracing of the constitution and powers of the concilium and of their modification during the lower empire led M. Carrette into tangled bypaths of Roman law, where it is often hard to find a way. But he is discriminating and careful, and not too inclined to make theories where facts are wanting. The book closes with useful bibliographical notes, a list of officials of the concilia of Gaul mentioned in inscriptions, an excellent index, and a heliogravure of the Narbonne inscription. M. Carrette enlivens his very thorough treatment of a necessarily dry subject with many excellent illustrations and comparisons of the customs discussed, taken from all sorts of times and places.

D. J. C.

Moral Philosophy. By CHARLES COPPENS, S.J. New York: Catholic School Book Company. 1895. 8vo. Pp. 167.

THIS volume may be described as a primer of the best kind. It covers the whole ground of doctrinal ethics. It is brief, while at the same time invariably clear. In statement it is exact without pedantry, in method it is scholastic, but neither tedious nor antiquated. Examples from daily life and topics of current discussion are everywhere introduced to give reality and animation to the treatment. The order and general system of exposition adopted by the author are familiar to all students of our Catholic manuals. He opens with the question of "Human Acts" and the "Purpose of Life." Then follow the questions of Morality, Law, Rights, Duties, Domestic and Civil Society. He closes his work with a very serviceable chapter on International Law.

An obvious objection will occur to many, that the vastness of the material included under Moral Philosophy would render any intelligible treatment of it impracticable within the compass of so small a volume. This, we confess, was our own feeling when we took up the book. Still our author, we think, has succeeded where others might have failed, and the secret of his success is to be found in his choice of materials, and in their judicious employment. The selection which he has made will doubtless prove unsatisfactory to readers who desire some historical account of the growth and decay of ethical systems. It may even be repellent to such as desire anything approaching an exhaustive enumeration and discussion of existing views and standards of morality. But to those who desire a precise and intelligent statement of the doctrines held by all Catholic philosophers on almost every important point of moral philosophy, and in particular on those topics about which controversy is so

earnest at the present moment, this little treatise will be very acceptable.

The ideas which, as we gather from the book, have governed the author in his method and treatment, appear to be, completeness of structure, the setting forth of cardinal principles, and the discussion of such objections only as are now current, or would seem naturally to present themselves to a thoughtful reader. As a fair specimen of the author's manner we may quote paragraph 212, on "The Wife and Mother," which indicates, not obscurely, that the "New Woman" will find no place in his ethical system :

The wife and mother, who is not a menial, but the helpmate and companion of her husband, shares his parental dignity, and is entitled to a share in his authority over the family. She is naturally the centre of domestic affection, the dispenser of the comforts provided by the father, the mistress of the home, subject indeed to his prudent direction when important occasions make such direction necessary, yet possessing the right to manage her own domain. From her lips the children will receive direction and warning, and her loving hand will correct their faults. The father will, if need be, firmly support her authority, and by word and example teach the children to venerate their mother. (P. 131.)

Here is another paragraph, equally interesting, on the position of servants in a family :

A complete family usually includes servants, who differ from other wage-earners by being permanently employed in domestic occupations. As such, they become inmates of the house, and, in a certain sense, members of the family. From this fact special rights and duties arise in their regard with respect to the other members of the household ; *e.g.*, they may be entrusted with delegated authority over the children of their employers. It is their duty to have the good of the family sincerely at heart ; and, on the other hand, they are entitled not only to their salary, but also to special love and care, particularly in times of illness. Every one is bound by the natural law to see to the moral and spiritual welfare of those belonging to his own household. (P. 137.)

A novel feature of the book is the terse manner in which objections are stated and dealt with. The following are taken at random. They are brought against the doctrine which lays down that *Civil society has the right to inflict the death penalty for enormous crimes* :

Objections : 1. Man is too noble a being to be slaughtered as a warning to others. *Answer*. Such certainly he is if he has done no wrong ; but not if he has degraded himself by a monstrous crime.

2. The present doctrine would justify "Lynch law" and mob violence, which are evident evils. *Answer*. A mob has no authority to inflict death ; civil society receives such authority from God, its founder.

3. In some States the death penalty has been abolished ; therefore it is not necessary. *Answer*. That consequent does not follow from the antecedent. It is not clear that the purposes of civil government are sufficiently attained in those States. If they are, it is owing to special circumstances, and constitutes an exception to the general rule. (Pp. 152-153.)

Reviews in Brief.

Ce Qu'on va Chercher a Rome. Par LEON OLLÉ-LAPRUNE, Maître de Conférence a l'École Normale Supérieure. Paris : Arnaud Colin et Cie.—The endeavour of the author of this little pamphlet of seventy-one pages is to arouse a loyal spirit towards the Holy Father and Rome. It is impossible that one really good publication too many could appear for such a purpose or on such a subject ; and many people may be ready to read a very short book who would refuse even to look at a very long one.

The Pure Love of God. By the Very Rev. J. A. MALTUS, O.P. London : Burns & Oates.—In a small, compact book the publishers have brought together five little treatises by the learned Dominican Father Maltus. The titles of these valuable tracts are The Pure Love of God, The Everlasting Life and Love of Jesus, Heaven Our Eternal Home, The Triumph of Charity on Earth and in Purgatory, and Charity is the Greatest Created Gift of God to Man. Knowledge through prayer is the keynote of the book. The reader is supposed to be kneeling. With such a composition of place great fruit can be drawn from every page. Those who cannot hear too much about heaven, and who find the thought of Purgatory a stimulus to devotion and a preservative against venial faults will know how to appreciate this clearly printed and neatly bound volume.

Jésus en Croix, ou La Science du Crucifix. Par les Pères PIERRE MARIE et JEAN NICOLAS GROU, S.J. Paris : Téqui, 33, rue du Cherche-midi. 1895. 1s.—The real author of this valuable work is Father Marie of the Company of Jesus. It was written at the request of Queen Marie de Médicis for the instruction of the ladies at her court. Through successive meditations we are made to realise that Jesus Christ is the way, the truth, and the life : the way which we have to take, following His example ; the truth which enlightens us through the teaching of the Holy Gospel ; the life which animates and sanctifies us through participation in His infinite merits and the worthy reception of His body and blood. Père Marie helps his readers to become penetrated with these salutary truths. Walking in the footsteps of St. Paul, he emphasises the fact that in life as well

as at the point of death all happiness and merit consists in knowing only Christ, and Christ crucified. Father Grou held these meditations in great esteem, and brought out a new edition of them in 1783, a century and a half after their first publication. They are solid, clear, and full of unction. An excellent Lenten manual. A suggestive guide in the devotion of the Way of the Cross.

Publications of the Catholic Truth Society, 18 West Square, London—The reprint, for eighteenpence, of Mr. Allies' valuable work on "St. Peter, His Name and Office," is one of the best achievements so far of the Catholic Truth Society. Few Anglicans, and few Catholics for the matter of that, realise the strength of Scriptural argument for St. Peter's prerogatives; only when it is drawn out at some length with the cumulative force of the various texts fully displayed, do we begin to see that the Papal claims are better based in Sacred Scripture even than in Tradition. Mr. Allies' book, which is only now for the first time made generally accessible, is a solid, grave work of which Catholic scholarship may be proud. Based entirely upon the erudite treatise of Passaglia, with all its arguments drawn from that vast store, this work is yet not a mere translation, for it has passed through the mould of an English mind, and comes to its readers in familiar form. If further commendation were needed at this time of day, it might be found in a remark of Fr. Rivington in the Preface which he has written for this edition, "that the Anglican theory of Church government never seemed to him secure after the day when he finished a careful perusal of its pages" (p. vii.).

In **Reasons for Rejecting Anglican Orders**, F. Sydney Smith gives a courteous and complete exposition of the Catholic position in their regard, which is as concise and clear as so complicated a case can be. Its general line is to show—

that the Anglican Church, not content with exchanging the certainty of an unbroken tradition for the uncertainties of private speculation, has devised an Ordinal characterised not merely by the absence of direct assertion of a mystic and sacrificial priesthood as the gift intended to be conveyed, but by a positive and direct exclusion of any intention of this sort; such being the effect of the omissions, when interpreted by comparison with the rich Pontifical which was set aside, and with the otherwise clearly declared mind of those who framed the new rite, and framed it precisely in order to give authoritative expression to their personal views. (P. 89.)

F. Smith's verdict on the Nag's Head story is, that it "is too absurd, and may be relegated to the cupboard of exploded myths, along with the equally absurd story of Pius IV. offering to confirm the Anglican Prayer-book, which can now be similarly traced to the

misinterpretation of a remark made by the Cardinal of Lorraine" (p. 92). The latest official defence of Anglican orders, "*De Hierarchia Anglicana*," is briefly treated in a Postscript.

A well-timed pamphlet by Fr. Luke Rivington, entitled **Anglican Fallacies**, discusses clearly and honestly the latest phase of the Reunion movement as illustrated by the actions and speeches of Lord Halifax. It gives a particularly interesting account of some previous attempts at Reunion under Charles I. and George I., as well as a gentle but convincing exposition of various other fallacies held by our High Church friends. As to the re-investigation of Anglican orders, that

is a matter for authority to settle. But this much may be said here, viz., that there could be no possible objection to such a proposition in itself. Even a matter of faith, such as Transubstantiation, was subjected to a fresh examination at the Council of Trent, not from any doubt as to its truth, but to satisfy Protestants and to inform teachers as to the grounds on which the dogma rests. The invalidity of Anglican Orders, it need hardly be said, is not a matter of faith, and if authority thought fit to subject it to fresh examination, it would only be a fresh instance of the kindly solicitude which, as we know, animates the Holy See in such matters. (P. 75.)

The smaller publications of the Catholic Truth Society this quarter include a devout *Life of St. Antony of Padua* by Mr. Kegan Paul, which has some valuable remarks on miraculous and prophetic gifts; and a timely account by F. Gilbert Dolan of the *Three Blessed Abbots*, and their companions martyred under Henry VIII., and recently beatified together with B. Adrian Fortescue and B. Thomas Percy. Mrs. Liebich writes an edifying *Life of Father Hermann*, the convert Jewish musician who restored the Carmelites to England, and in *Ven. John Thules*, Mgr. Gradwell tells some of the later saintly glories of the Catholic County, whose earlier ecclesiastical history he has already so well illustrated. Mr. Costelloe gives in "The Teaching of the Twelve" an interesting account of the very important Christian writing discovered some time ago, which goes by the name of the "Didache," the very early date of which and its bearing on many controverted points make it most valuable to the student. We are entirely in accord with the purpose of the Rev. W. H. Kirwan's essay on "The Revival of Liturgical Services," but it is somewhat marred by exaggeration and a failure to recognise unpleasant facts. What a happy and unusual experience of English missions the man must have who can write: "Latin was only understood by a few in the Middle Ages, whereas to-day there is *no one who has not, or may not have, a knowledge of it!*" (p. 9). Canon Connelly's excellent lectures on

"England and Devotion to the B. Virgin" are reprinted, and we have further a "Temperance Catechism" which seems useful and orthodox. The "Catholic Magazine" keeps up its high level of excellence, well supported by well-known literary names.

A Modern Galahad is a controversial story by A. M. Grange, meant to display the most modern development of Ritualism, which, as being distinctly amusing, will convey instruction to some who would not otherwise consider such questions. The hero is a young University man who seeks the Holy Grail of the true Faith, and finds it after various adventures. The tale is well written, the interest well sustained. Apart from one or two allusions which look like personalities and are hardly in good taste, there is no bitterness in the book, though naturally its kindly banter may well be more amusing to Catholics than to Anglicans. If, however, it is a grace to see ourselves as others see us, "A Modern Galahad" should be helpful to some who are still struggling with difficulties and trials like his.

A Sketch of the Life and Mission of St. Benedict. By Francis Aidan Gasquet, O.S.B. Third Thousand. John Hodges, Bedford Street, Strand, London.

A new edition has been called for of the bright and brief *brochure* in which Dom Gasquet sketches the Life of St. Benedict and the Apostolate of his sons in England. Lists are appended of the numerous monasteries of the Order formerly existing in England, the value and interest of which would have been much increased by another complete list of the present Benedictine foundations in this country. Interlaced in the text are good extracts from well-known writers, one of which is worth quoting to show how Cardinal Manning anticipated a project which his successor is carrying out.

Catholic England was so predominantly Benedictine, that it has been called the Apostolate of St. Benedict, and from England again he sent forth his sons into France and Germany and the countries of the north and of the Alps. Never in the history of any order, or of the Church in any age, was the union of the religious and secular ministries carried to such identity. . . . A Benedictine Cathedral with a Seminary by its side is a type of what once was, and—if the Church of England is to do its great work of grace, of what, whether by this same identification, or by the harmonious unity of our two great ministries—must be again."

The new Cathedral at Westminster promises to be a remarkable illustration of this union of the religious and secular ministries.

Life of the Reverend Mother Mary of St. Euphrasia Pelletier. By A. M. CLARKE. London: Burns & Oates, Limited.

[No. 17 of *Fourth Series*.]

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—This very interesting biography of a devoted life opens with a short preface by his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop. Miss Clarke has done her work well, and has presented to us a living picture of one of the truly great women of the century. Biographies abound in these days, and too many, alas! to little purpose. But not so in this case. Mother Mary Pelletier was a great woman who accomplished a great work, and the story of her life is fraught with these characteristics which are eminently calculated to “upraise” her readers. We see in her the noble soul filled with that dauntless courage which comes of faith. We have here the history of a noble life struggling to accomplish whatever work it saw to be for God’s honour. Elected in 1834 as the first Superior General of the Order of Our Lady of Charity, she continued to hold that responsible post until her death in 1868. The zeal with which she laboured, the firmness and ability of her administration, the unreserved confidence in God in all her spiritual and temporal concerns, and the remarkable way in which that confidence was always rewarded, are admirably told. We heartily congratulate Miss Clarke on the excellent portrait she has given us, and the good sisters of the Good Shepherd on the appearance of their first Superior-General’s beautiful life.

Books Received.

- Russia and the English.** W. J. Birkbeck. Rivington, Percival & Co. 8vo, pp. 227.
- The Brotherhood of Mankind.** Rev. J. H. Crawford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 379.
- Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels.** Rev. Dr. Gloag. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 299.
- Petronilla.** Eleanor C. Donnelly. New York: Benziger Bros. 8vo, pp. 272.
- The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.** Hastings Randall, M.A. London: Clarendon Press. Vol. I. pp. 562. Vol. II. Part I. pp. 315. Vol. II. Part. II. pp. 832.
- Manuel de la Dévotion au Saint Esprit.** Le R. P. Marie J. Friaque. Paris: Téqui Libraire Éditeur. Pp. 242.

- Alexis Clerc.** Charles Daniel. Paris: Téqui Libraire Éditeur.
Pp. 496.
- Un Aide dans la Douleur.** L'Auteur des Avis Spirituels.
Paris: Téqui Libraire Éditeur. Pp. 696.
- Dissertations on Subjects Connected with the Incarnation.**
Rev. Charles Gore, M.A. London: John Murray. Pp. 312.
- History of Ely Place.** Rev. J. A. Dewe. London: Burns &
Oates. Pp. 32.
- Les Missions du Colonel Flatters.** J. V. Barbier. Paris:
Téqui. Pp. 174.
- Réflexions et Prières.** Paris: Téqui. Pp. 668.
- Considérations sur le Purgatoire.** R. R. Deidier. Paris: Téqui.
Pp. 240.
- Jésus en Croix, ou La Science du Crucifix.** Paris: Téqui.
Pp. 252.
- Xavier De Ravignan.** P. A. De Ponlevoy. Paris: Téqui
Pp. 506.
- Melodies of Mood and Tense.** C. H. A. Esling. C. H. Walsh.
Pp. 295.
- De Systemate Morali.** F. Ter Haar. Tornaci. Pp. 108.
- Ad Sodales.** Frank Taylor. Oxford. Pp. 46.
- Ce Qu'on Va chercher à Rome.** Léon Ollé Lapruné. Paris:
Colin. Pp. 71.
- Moral Philosophy.** Rev. C. Coppens, S.J. New York: Catholic
Book Co. Pp. 167.
- Life and Mission of St. Benedict.** Dom. Fr. Gasquet, D.D.
London: John Hodges. Pp. 54.
- Fate of Sacrilege.** Sir H. Spelman. London: John Hodges.
Pp. 355.
- Cogitationes Concionales.** John M. Ashley, B.C.L. London:
John Hodges. Pp. 216.
- Three Months in the Forests of France.** Margaret Stokes.
London: G. Bell & Sons. Pp. 279.
- The Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church.** Rev. A. A.
Lambing, LL.D. New York: Benziger Bros. Pp. 325.
- John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury.** Woodhouse. Lon-
don: Longmans. Pp. 168.

- Four English Humourists.** W. S. Lilly. London: John Murray. Pp. 192.
- La Campagne Monarchique.** C. Chesnelong. Paris: E. Plon. Pp. 549.
- Laurence Oliphant.** Charles Newton Scott. London: The Leadenhall Press Co. Pp. 42.
- Brief Text-Book of Moral Philosophy.** Rev. C. Coppens, S.J. New York: Catholic School Book Co. Pp. 168.
- Lettres d'un Curé de Campagne.** Yves de Querdec. Paris: Victor Lecoffre. Pp. 316.
- Strangers at Lisconnel.** J. Barlow. Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. 341.
- St. Paul the Traveller.** W. M. Ramsay. Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. 394.
- The Life of Sir H. Halford, Bart.** W. Munk. Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. 284.
- The Utopia of Sir Thomas More.** J. H. Lupton. Clarendon Press. Pp. 347.
- Names and their Histories.** J. Taylor. Rivington & Co. Pp. 392.
- The Christian Doctrine of Immortality.** S. D. F. Salmond. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 703.
- All the Russias.** E. C. Phillips. London: Cassell & Co. Pp. 224.
- The Somerset Carthusians.** E. M. Thompson. London: J. Hodges. Pp. 373.
- Manual of Canon Law.** O. P. Reichel. London: J. Hodges. Pp. 416.
- Les Amitiés de Jésus.** Ollivier. Paris: P. Lethielleux. Pp. 433.
- Dictionnaire Grec-Français des Noms Liturgiques.** L. Clugnet. Paris: Picard & Fils. Pp. 186.
- Mammalia.** E. P. Wright. London: Cassell & Co. Pp. 605.
- The History of English Law.** By Sir Frederick Pollock and Frederick W. Maitland. Vols. I. and II., large 8vo, pp. xxix.-678, xiii.-684. Cambridge University Press.
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL 1896.

ART. I.—OUR DIAMOND JUBILEE.

The Dublin Review. Vols. I. to LII. London : May 1836—April 1863.

The Dublin Review. New Series. Vols. I. to XXXI. London : July 1863—Oct. 1878.

The Dublin Review. Third Series. Vols. XXXII. (I.)—XXVI. London : Jan. 1879—Oct. 1891.

The Dublin Review. New (Fourth) Series. Vols. CX.—CXVIII. London : Jan. 1892—April 1896.

“IF the history of the DUBLIN REVIEW could be written in full, we suspect it would be as interesting as the narrative of an eventful human life.”

So wrote a year ago the genial and gifted Editor of the *Irish Monthly*, Father Matthew Russell, S.J.*

“If the secret history of the D.R. were known to the public, how strange it would appear! So often on the point of sinking, yet always rescued—it looks as if heaven regarded it propitiously.”

So wrote over fifty years ago Bishop (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman, in a letter to Dr. Charles Russell, dated from Oscott, Nov. 9th, 1844.†

* *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxxiii. p. 54, January 1895.

† *Ibid.* p. 56.

These appreciations are brought vividly to our minds by the fact that the present number marks the Diamond Jubilee, or sixtieth anniversary, of the foundation of the REVIEW, whose first quarterly issue bears date May 1836.

It may seem, perhaps, contrary to usage, if not to journalistic etiquette, for a review like ours to celebrate in this form its own Jubilee. We have, however, the example of our predecessors to justify us. Retrospective and autobiographical articles of the kind have been not unfrequent in our pages. Cardinal Wiseman contributed such articles at least twice, in December 1856, and just before the close of the Old Series in November 1862. A very personal article of the kind appeared in the Second Series, in January 1867; and in April 1875, pointed reference was made in the first article to "forty years ago," when the REVIEW was first begun, though the calculation was not exactly accurate. Dr. Ward, on occasion of his retirement from the editorial chair, indulged in a similar retrospect in the number for October 1878. The REVIEW has, therefore, all along preserved and manifested a kind of self-consciousness, and it does not appear altogether inappropriate to signalise the completion of its sixtieth year of life-history in a somewhat similar fashion.

It must be confessed that, to a considerable extent, we have been anticipated. Father Russell, S.J., above referred to, the nephew of Dr. Charles Russell, who, with Cardinal Wiseman and Daniel O'Connell, ranks as one of the "Makers of the DUBLIN," published during the years 1893-5 a series of exceedingly interesting bibliographical articles on the history of our REVIEW in the pages of his own excellent periodical.* These papers, based upon the invaluable MS. documents of his late uncle, threw a flood of light upon the early history of this REVIEW, and especially upon the identification of a large number of writers, of whom he has been able to compile a list, in parts very complete, derived chiefly from the private memoranda of Mr. Bagshawe, the early editor, and of Mr. Cashel Hoey, sub-editor under Dr. Ward. These interesting and entertaining papers of Father Russell are indispensable for anybody wishing to undertake the bibliographical history of

* *Irish Monthly*, vols. xxi. xxii. xxiii.

our REVIEW. Indeed it must occur to every reader that Ireland's gifted poet-priest, and no less charming *littérateur*, was exactly the one writer most fitted to undertake the present memorial article. And it is with deep regret that the present writer records that Father Russell's modesty has prevented him from accepting the suggestion. He has, however, most kindly allowed his own papers in the *Irish Monthly* to be laid fully under contribution for the compilation of the present article, and, moreover, has generously placed at our disposal the MSS. of Cardinal Wiseman and others above referred to.

The general table of contents to the 118 volumes of the REVIEW, which accompanies the present number, may be looked upon to some extent as an appendix to this article. Time and space do not allow the more elaborate attempt of an alphabetical index to the sixty years. But we believe that even the present more modest chronological list will not be without its interest and even practical utility. It was our hope to be able to add, at least to the Original Series, the names of the writers of all the articles. The groundwork for such a compilation is, indeed, to be found in the article of the *Irish Monthly*. We have above mentioned the MS. material which the editor of that periodical had at his disposal for the purpose. The first was a memorandum of Mr. Bagshawe, the early editor, concerning which Father Russell writes :

Through the great kindness of Mrs. Cashel Hoey—herself so distinguished a writer in fiction and in graver departments of literature—the previous little note-book has been placed at last in my hands. It is labelled “DUBLIN REVIEW, 1 to 104,” but unfortunately there are gaps in the record. Of the two quarterly parts which form a volume of the REVIEW the first has its writers chronicled on the left-hand page, and the second on the page opposite. Except in one instance towards the end, the articles are specified only by their number, not by subjects.*

For the Second Series, there were available, as we have said, certain memoranda of Mr. Cashel Hoey, the sub-editor. Father Russell continues :

With No. 104 comes to an end the first official record of contributors which Mr. Cashel Hoey inherited from Mr. Bagshawe. As he preserved it carefully and valued it highly, it seems strange that he did not keep a

* *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxi. p. 80.

similar record during the many years that he occupied a position similar to Mr. Bagshawe's in the conduct of the REVIEW. Mrs. Cashel Hoey has been kind enough to show me some memorandum books, in which Dr. Ward's most efficient lieutenant took notes concerning the authorship of certain numbers, but apparently with a view to the carrying out of the principle, "The labourer is worthy of his hire,"*—

that is to say, these memoranda (very imperfect for the rest) appear to name only, or at least chiefly, those contributors to whom *honoraria* had been paid for their articles, so that gaps are of frequent occurrence in the lists. Notwithstanding their incompleteness, Father Russell estimates these editorial records as a "treasure-trove," and their discovery as his "greatest piece of luck" in the department of literary history. Many of the deficiencies he was able to make up from other sources; partly from Dr. Russell's own MSS., consisting, as above remarked, of valuable letters and memoranda, and partly from works since published, in which the contributions of numerous writers to the REVIEW—such as Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Ward, Dr. Abraham, Mr. Wilberforce, Bishop Grant, Cardinal Manning, and others—have been publicly acknowledged. In a subsequent letter to *The Tablet* Father Russell added the remark: "There are several gaps in the catalogue, which may perhaps be supplied from other sources. For instance, I believe the set of the DUBLIN REVIEW in Oscott College has the writers marked." This was a hint too important to be lost, and the present writer has lately been enabled, through the great kindness of the Rev. Henry Parkinson, D.D., the Vice-President and Librarian of Oscott College, to carefully examine the set in the splendid Oscott Library and collate it with the *Irish Monthly* lists. The result is somewhat curious. To a considerable extent the two authorities coincide. But, unfortunately, they agree also in their *lacunæ*. The Oscott volumes, at least in the earlier series, have the names of authors entered in a neat small handwriting in the table of contents of each. So far, however, from being complete, there are no less than seven quarterly parts† in which the authors' names, though given in Mr. Bagshawe's list in the *Irish Monthly*, are entirely

* *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxi. p. 146.

† Viz., vols. xii. No. 24; xxv. No. 50; xxvi. No. 51; xxvii. No. 53; xxix. No. 58; xlii. No. 83; xlv. No. 91.

absent in the Oscott volumes. Occasionally one or more articles left anonymous in the *Irish Monthly* are marked in the Oscott one ; rarely, *vice versa*. More frequently there is a discrepancy between the two lists, and in most of these cases Father Russell, to whom these differences have been submitted, is inclined to consider the Oscott list the more accurate. But in spite of this it is sufficiently clear that the two lists are *practically identical*. Where the *Irish Monthly* list is silent, there the Oscott list fails us too ; the volumes indexed at Oscott, with the slight exceptions recorded, just coincide with those indexed in the *Irish Monthly* lists. So that it is evident, either that one of those lists has been copied from the other, or that both are derived from some common original. Whichever be the case, it is to be feared that, unless some other MS. sources exist which have hitherto escaped our notice, data are no longer forthcoming for completing the list of authors of the Original Series of the REVIEW. With the exception of a few odd articles, forty-one volumes alone of the Original Series have had the names of the Reviewers preserved more or less completely. These names will be found appended in brackets to the table of contents now published of that series, the information being derived from the several sources above enumerated. No doubt further research may tend to correct and complete this catalogue.

It had been our intention to treat in a similar manner the contents of the Second, or "Ward" Series. For this purpose, however, we have been able to obtain but very scanty and unsatisfactory data. Moreover, it has occurred to us that, for other reasons, it might be undesirable to unveil the anonymity of the reviewers of this Series. The First Series concluded early in 1863. A generation has passed since then, and for the most part the "Old Dublin Reviewers" themselves belong to history. Of the writers of the Second Series, on the other hand, many are still with us ; and literary etiquette might in some cases make it undesirable to publish their names, at least without their own desire. With the opening of the Third Series the reign of the old-fashioned anonymity came to an end, and subsequently nearly all the articles have, in more modern fashion, boldly borne their authors' signatures.

After these preliminary remarks of a bibliographical nature,

we may now turn to consider more strictly the history of the REVIEW itself. In so doing, however, we shall be obliged to disappoint the reader who may expect what Cardinal Wiseman called "the secret history" of the REVIEW. Our object is of a much less ambitious nature, and is limited to a brief sketch of what may more properly be styled "the external history" of the "historic DUBLIN," as it has been so justly called.

I.

The honour of the first inception of the DUBLIN REVIEW is generally attributed, as we have said, to Dr. Wiseman and Daniel O'Connell. Dr. Nicholas Wiseman, at that time (1836) a young man of thirty-four and Rector of the English College in Rome, was just emerging to fame in this country by his literary and scientific attainments. During the preceding year he had read before a select audience in the apartments of Cardinal Weld in Rome his *Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*. O'Connell was in the midst of the most exciting period of his stirring career. Strange to say, however, Cardinal Wiseman, in the preface to his *Essays on Various Subjects* (1853) assigns the honour to a third person, the first editor, Mr. Michael J. Quin, writing: "It was in 1836 that the idea of commencing a Catholic Quarterly was first conceived by the late learned and excellent Mr. Quin, who applied to the illustrious O'Connell and myself to join in the undertaking."

The first quarterly part of this most important venture, "the Catholic rival to the Whig *Edinburgh Review* and the Tory *Quarterly*," duly appeared with the date May 1836, and has continued ever since, in spite of all dangers and difficulties, in unbroken quarterly succession up to the present number. It is curious to remark that for a good many years the appearance of the parts was by no means as regular as we should have expected. The actual month of issue was more or less unsettled; in fact, strange as it may appear, during the first dozen years of its existence there is not a single month of the year whose name does not figure on at least one or two of the quarterly issues.* Complete regularity in this matter does not seem

* To quote a few examples: January 1838, 1839, 1847; February 1840-43;

to have been attempted until the opening of the Second Series.

The subsequent history of the REVIEW falls into four periods: The first is that of the Original Series, which may be fairly styled the "Wiseman-Russell series," from the two eminent *littérateurs* to whom the lion's share of the work and the chief credit of its high literary excellence are undoubtedly due. This series, as already stated, lasted from May 1836, to April 1863, filling fifty-two consecutive half-yearly volumes. The "New Series" which followed, from July 1863, to October 1878—occupying thirty-one half-yearly volumes, and appearing at the regular quarterly intervals, and in the months (January, April, July, and October) which have now become stereotyped—was pre-eminently the "Ward Series," during which the remarkable personality of that able and trenchant philosopher, Dr. W. G. Ward, who combined in himself the functions of both proprietor and editor, completely predominates the life-history of the REVIEW, and gives to this series an individual *cachet* all its own.

The retirement of Dr. Ward, and the passing of the proprietorship into the hands of Bishop (now Cardinal) Vaughan, and of the editorship into those of the learned Bishop of Newport, Dr. Hedley, mark the opening of the "Third Series," on comparatively novel lines. This series embraced twenty-six half-yearly volumes, lasting from January 1879, to October 1891. Finally, with the passing of the editorship into the present hands, the actual, or "Fourth Series," began with the January number of 1892.

The choice of the title of the REVIEW was dictated partly, we should imagine, by way of distinctive contrast with the *Edinburgh*—the name of the Irish capital symbolising a country as essentially Catholic, as that of the Scottish capital seemed suggestive of Knox and Calvinism; and partly because it was intended to appeal very largely for its support, both monetary and literary, to the Green Isle of Erin, whose verdant livery has ever been the distinctive colour of the DUBLIN, and whose national arms, with the old motto *Eire go bráth*, in the proper

March 1844-46; April 1837, 1838; May 1836, 1839, 1840-43; June 1844-46; July 1836-38; August 1839-43; September 1844-46; October 1837, 1838; November 1839-42; December 1836, 1843-45.

Erse characters, duly figured on the cover of every number of the Original Series, and in smaller form in those of the Second Series. The REVIEW has, indeed, from the beginning always been published in London, but the connection with Ireland was from its earliest days very close. At least one-half, oftentimes much more, of the literary matter of the original series was produced in Ireland; and Irish topics, political, social, educational, or literary, constantly occupied an important share of each quarter's bill of fare. A glance at the table of contents for the earlier years will show this. The first editor, to whom Cardinal Wiseman gives the credit of the original conception of the REVIEW, was Mr. M. J. Quin, a native of Thurles, in Tipperary, a journalist and lawyer of some note in his time (born 1796, died 1843). He, however, edited only the first two quarterly numbers. The third number (December 1836) was edited by the well-known historical writer, the Rev. M. A. Tierney, and the fourth and fifth (April and July 1837) by Mr. James Smith of Edinburgh, whose son was the learned Dr. William Smith, afterwards second Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh. With the sixth number, the young magazine at last obtained a permanent editor in the person of Mr. H. R. Bagshawe, who retained the editorial chair till the accession of Dr. Ward in 1863. The causes of this uncertainty of tenure in the editorial office were, alas! of the financial kind, which too often dog the steps of an incipient literary venture. Father Russell cites a rather pathetic letter of Quin to O'Connell dated from 25 Southampton Row, Russell Square, January 2, 1837, in which he says :

In obedience to your opinion, which to me is law, I have surrendered all claim upon the REVIEW funds for any compensation whatever. . . . The question which now remains to be settled is this—In what mode is the REVIEW to be henceforth continued? Its existence is a matter of great importance to religion, to Ireland, to the popular cause. It is impossible that I should edit and write without being paid. A fund should be supplied adequate to pay the editor a reasonable salary, and to remunerate contributors for their articles. Whence is this fund to proceed? This is a question necessary to be answered as soon as possible, in order that preparations should be made forthwith for the fourth number. I have no objection still to continue editor if you wish it, but I cannot give any more of my time to the journal without remuneration.

In *writing* and in cash I have already advanced to the REVIEW upwards of £300. Is it reasonable that I alone should be called upon to make such a sacrifice as this? *

Publishers, too, were doomed to suffer from "that eternal want of pence that vexes public men." The first publisher was "William Spooner, 377 Strand." With 1838, "Booker and Dolman, 61 New Bond Street," appear on the title-page; changed next year to "C. Dolman (nephew and successor to J. Booker)," the address remaining as before. In 1845 Dolman was succeeded by Richardson and Son, and in 1862 the Richardsons by the firm at first known as "Burns and Lambert," then as "Burns, Lambert, and Oates," and finally by its present style of "Burns and Oates." Of the financial difficulties of the early years, we learn a good deal from a long letter of Mr. Charles Dolman to Mr. Daniel O'Connell, M.P., dated February 11, 1839, which is among the MSS. so obligingly placed at our disposal by Father Russell. Dolman has much to say of the difficulties and risks of the undertaking, in which Mr. Richards (the printer) and himself "have both lost so much." "I undertook," he says in a subsequent letter (March 29, 1843), "to be responsible for the payments required to carry on the REVIEW under the direction and editorship of Bishop Wiseman† for the period of four years upon the assurance of support from the guarantee fund which terminated with the last year." He again complains that he has been a severe loser, and then details a new plan proposed by Dr. Wiseman, and which amounts to this—that the writers of articles shall receive "a joint interest in the REVIEW, and will be content to receive the proceed of the sales, after paying the printing expenses, for their remuneration." We also gather from these letters that O'Connell's annual contribution to the guarantee fund was £25. In a letter of December 14, 1843, Dolman, acknowledging a last instalment, thanks the great Irish statesman very warmly for his powerful aid and protection, and for having recommended the REVIEW to the Irish clergy. He thinks that it has hitherto had but slight support from that quarter, though he is—

* *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxi. pp. 138, 139.

† Dr. Wiseman had meanwhile been nominated Coadjutor Vicar-Apostolic, and consecrated Bishop of Melipotamus in 1840.

But too well aware that there has been on some occasions reasons why perhaps the REVIEW would not [*sic*] and was not well received by them, and justly so; but I trust no such occasion will ever occur again and that past errors being forgot and forgiven, the REVIEW will reap the benefit of that union and support for want of which it has hitherto languished.

Daniel O'Connell long before this had published under date February 18, 1838, his lithographed letter to the Irish Bishops in favour of the REVIEW, "of which I am one of the proprietors." He says in the document :

The object with which this publication was instituted was and is to afford the Catholic literature of these countries a fair and legitimate mode of exhibiting itself to the people of the British Empire, and especially to the people of Ireland, in the shape most likely to produce a permanent as well as useful effect. The other quarterly publications are in the hands either of avowed and malignant enemies of Catholicity, or what is worse, insidious and pretended friends, who affect a false liberality at the expense of Catholic doctrine.

The DUBLIN REVIEW, though not intended for purely polemical discussion, contains many articles of the deepest interest to the well-informed Catholic disputant. The name of Dr. Wiseman, who is also a proprietor of the work, ensures the orthodoxy of the opinions contained in it, and will be admitted to be in itself a pledge of the extent, and depth, and variety of its scientific, as well as theological information.*

O'Connell's reference to the importance of Wiseman's share in the undertaking was no whit exaggerated. The evidence of this is to be found in his constant contribution of admirable articles to the pages of the REVIEW. These articles, of high literary merit and containing a wealth of erudition, cover a wide field ranging from theology and patristic learning to the fine arts and *belles lettres*. Many of them are of permanent value. But over and above this, Wiseman was practically the literary editor of the REVIEW, Bagshawe being little more than a business editor. This is abundantly proved by his correspondence with Dr. Russell, much of which lies before us as we write. He is constantly discussing the articles to be accepted or rejected, suggesting modifications, enumerating the stock in hand for forthcoming numbers, sketching projected series or individual articles, criticising, questioning, exulting, or com-

* M. F. Cusack, "The Liberator; his Life and Times," p. 643. (London, 1872.)

plaining, as things go satisfactorily or the contrary. The impression left by a perusal of those letters—models, by the way, of neatness and accuracy in penmanship and composition, in spite of the almost crushing stress of official work, especially after the erection of the Hierarchy—is that the REVIEW was Wiseman's pet child. He writes about it with the anxiety of a father for its future, his solicitude for present weakness, his joy and pride at success achieved and commendation won from strangers. We must be allowed to make a few extracts :

I find every one pleased with Mr. Marshall's paper ["Developments of Protestantism," March 1846], though long. Mr. Newman has spoken to me of it in high admiration.—(Letter, April 27, 1846.)

And again :

The other day I was at the British Museum Library, when Panizzi spoke to me with great praise of your article on Hippolytus ["The Newly found Treatise against All Heresies," December 1852]. He told me he had urged several of the very same objections to Mr. Bunsen. But the way he read the article was this : Cureton brought it to him, saying that Bunsen himself had given it him to peruse, he was so much pleased by the gentlemanly and scholarlike tone which pervaded it, and the respect with which he was treated, all which presented such a contrast to the manner in which he had been handled in some Protestant reviews.

From conversation with Panizzi I am convinced that the DUBLIN REVIEW is much more known, and exercises much more influence than we think. Panizzi knows the old numbers and articles, and told me how he had read them to friends in the library. Let us have a good number next time. (Letter, January 30 [1853].)

Elsewhere : "I am quite overwhelmed with subjects for the REVIEW." Then comes a list of four important articles he is planning, on Scripture and theology, after which he adds : "My light article I find is popular, but I fear people are attributing it to me."

(This was an amusing article in the preceding number, September 1849, entitled "The Art of Puffing.") The very next sentence is prophetic, and shows what was going on in the minds of Wiseman and others at the time, the very year before the Hierarchy : "I have heard nothing from Rome about the Primacy, but I *fear* much." (Letter, Bexhill, October 17, 1849.)

Some time before this, in a letter referring to some necessary

alterations in papers contributed by some of the recent Oxford converts, Oakeley, Morris, and others, we meet the gratifying remark: "There was not the slightest difficulty in getting them all modified. Nothing can exceed the docility of our converts." (Letter, December 4, 1846.) In a later letter, pleading extra pressure of business, the newly made Cardinal tells his faithful correspondent "we have been talking over plans for improving the *REVIEW* and combining it with a paper" (London, December 18, 1850). But, fortunately, perhaps, the "combination" never came off. Sometimes we find him criticising the *REVIEW*, and himself as well. Thus:

The *REVIEW* is not deep. It wants some more reasoning and original articles; there seems to me to be too much extract and mere analysis of works. . . . As for my own article ["The Bible in Maynooth," September, 1852] it was written far too hurriedly, and I ran off the rails, and could not bring out what I wanted. Let us get something good for next time. (Letter, October 2, 1852.)

A few months later we have the following interesting comments:

Do you not think we are getting into too few hands? Ward, De Morgan, Christie, Newman, Allies, &c., have written for us, and now literally we are alone with Robertson and Dr. Charlton. The rest are chiefly extract papers. Surely the convert element ought to be more cultivated. . . . I see the growing narrowness of our work, and deplore it. Never a paper on Physics, Astronomical discoveries, Chemistry, Electricity, Steam, Railroads, Physiology, Medicine, Geology, Botany, Law reform, not even on politics in their wider sense. Never any article on foreign countries except the bleak North—I mean an original paper. . . . As to myself, besides Lent duties which increase as the season advances, I am now more and more overpowered by extraneous business, which makes me feel the difference between a Bishop or V. A. and an Archb., especially when Card! (Letter, Walthamstow, February 18, 1853.)

The ever-growing pressure of business did not, however, prevent the great Cardinal either from continuing to contribute admirable articles of his own to the *REVIEW*, or from following with undiminished solicitude its career. Three years later—at the very moment he was recovering "from that shabby complaint, influenza, which throws none of the dignity or sympathy of illness around one"—he finds time to indite a long epistle containing somewhat similar criticisms to those

above quoted, but also adding a projected programme of topics which he conceives ought to be discussed in the pages of the REVIEW. This syllabus is of sufficient interest to quote almost in full. It runs thus :

IRELAND.

1. The State Church.
2. The Catholic representation—its discharge of its duties, &c.
3. Education, and the efforts making to thwart and undermine ours.
4. Proselytism—its history and condition.
5. Maynooth—Queen's College—Universities.
6. Land Question, Encumbered Estates Court—results of late changes in the population—emigration, colonisation, &c.
7. Agricultural and commercial industry, Flax, Fisheries, &c.

ENGLAND.

8. Progress of Religion—and its wants.
9. Infidelity, its spread and remedies.
10. Puseyism—Dennison, &c.
11. Charitable trusts.
12. Political position of Catholics.
13. Education.

FOREIGN.

14. English and French alliance, every day becoming a more delicate subject.

15. Concordats—Austria, Würtemberg [*sic*], Tuscany, and Spain—perhaps Russia. (My lectures on the Concordat having been translated into Italian and German have gone through several editions. In Austria especially they have been much read. The Pope has read them, and expressed himself much pleased.)

16. Defence of Cath. powers from the calumnies of the press. . . .

17. The true character of the liberal party on the Continent—Mazzini, &c. (It is certain that all written on such subjects is read with great avidity in the Clubs. Mr. Bowyer's two arts. on Spain and Sardinia, for which I furnished the documents, have done much good.)

18. The theological literature of the Continent. . . .

It seems to me that such matters as come under these heads should be treated upon clear and definite principles, and every number should bring one or more before the Catholic mind so as to work it up into a clear and consistent view. (Letter, November 7th, 1856.)

We learn from this same letter that "the root of the evil" is still "the want of adequate means" to attract writers of talent by suitable *honoraria*. "If anything happened to Richardson, we should be lost," the writer concludes.

We ought, perhaps, to apologise for these lengthy extracts, but they seem required to do justice to the illustrious prelate who was really the Father of the DUBLIN REVIEW, as well as to give an adequate impression of the high ideal, the noble aims which inspired him all during the more than quarter of a century of his intimate connection with it.

From Wiseman's private letters we may turn to one or two articles published in the REVIEW which convey the same lessons. In one, entitled "The Present Catholic Dangers" (December 1856), he gives the following summary of the twenty years' life, then just completed, of the periodical:

During the twenty years' existence of this REVIEW, during vicissitudes and struggles not easily paralled in the history of such publications, we believe it entitled to one commendation. It was established for an end which it has steadily kept in view. Thoroughly able and willing to sympathise with the difficulties, the traditions, the deep-worn feelings of Catholics, almost before the dawn of the brighter era of conversion, church-building, educational movement, and religious bibliopolism had appeared on the horizon, its conductors endeavoured, gently and gradually, to move forward the Catholic mind without shocking or violently drawing away, or aside, thoughts familiar to it, and growing side by side with its best inheritance. They avoided all the troubled waters and eddies of domestic contention; nor is it among the least of many praises due to the illustrious O'Connell, who was one of its founders, that, wrapped up as his whole external life was in politics, he consented that the new quarterly should not involve itself in their vortex, even to advocate his own views, but should steer its own course along a calmer stream, and try to bear along with it peaceful and consenting minds.

Whatever seemed useful to forward the interests of Catholics, just released from the thralldom of ages, to suggest greater boldness, opener confession of faith, better taste, and especially greater familiarity with the resources of Catholic ritual, Catholic devotion, or Catholic feeling, was diligently studied and carried on, for years, with a steady purpose, that did its work.*

And when the original series was just drawing to its close, in the last quarterly issue but one before it passed into other hands, and little more than a couple of years before his death, the great Cardinal, in that noble article "On Responsibility," the very last he ever contributed to the pages of the work with which he had so long identified himself, penned a passage of

* O. S., vol. xli. pp. 441, 442.

such dignity and beauty that we may well quote it, both as his own literary epitaph and as his last message and testament to those who should come after him in the conduct of his REVIEW. It is as follows :

From the first number to this, every article has been written, or revised, under the sense of the most solemn responsibility to the Church, and to her Lord. If we have been reproached, it has been rather for severity in exclusion than for laxity in admission. Many an article has been ejected rather than rejected, even after being in type, because it was found not to accord with the high and strict principles from which its editorship has never swerved, and which it has never abated. To him who has conducted it for so many years a higher praise could scarcely be given ; and by no one, we are sure, has it ever been better deserved. That occasionally an article or a passage may have crept in which did not perfectly come up to the highest standard of ecclesiastical judgment, is not only possible but probable. Absence, hurry, pressing occupation, ill-health, or even inadvertence and justifiable confidence, will be sufficient to account for an occasional deviation from rule, should any one think he detects it. If so, we are certain he will find its corrective or its rectification in some other place.

For from first to last, as we have said, this REVIEW has been guided by principles fixed and unalterable ; and those who have conducted it have done so with the feeling that they must render an account of all that they admitted. However long may be its duration, and under whatever auspices, we are sure that the same deep, earnest, and religious sense will pervade its pages and animate its conductors, that their occupation is a sacred one, a deputation to posterity that our children's children may know how we adhered to the *true faith* of their fathers, how we bore with patience and *gentleness* the persecutions of our enemies, and how we never swerved from *justice* to friend or foe. Our motto may well be "PROPTER VERITATEM, ET MANSUETUDINEM ET JUSTITIAM." *

Vast as was the share of Cardinal Wiseman in the life and success of the REVIEW, it may be doubted whether the periodical would ever have survived its early trials, but for the co-operation of that other eminent and brilliant scholar, who all through those long years was Wiseman's chief lieutenant and comrade in arms, Dr. Charles Russell of Maynooth. From the literary point of view, Dr. Russell had certainly the lion's share of the actual work. His first article ("Versions of the Scriptures") contributed when he was a young professor of twenty-four, appeared in the second

* O. S. vol. lii. pp. 183, 184.

quarterly issue of the Old Series (July 1836); his last, "The Critical History of the Sonnet," is to be found in the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth numbers of the Second Series (October 1876, and January 1877). During this space of forty years, Dr. Russell was the most constant and most indefatigable of contributors; and the wide range of the subjects treated, well characterised by the titles of his first and best papers above cited, rivalled that of Wiseman's and gave evidence of the vast erudition, the high literary skill, and the versatile culture of one who may perhaps claim to have been the most gifted Catholic scholar of our times. For twenty years, he contributed absolutely to every number of the REVIEW; and before 1860, a very large number of issues contain not one, but several papers from his prolific and graceful pen; in at least one instance he is credited with no less than five articles. His articles were no mere "pot-boilers." Very many of them were of the highest merit. We have seen Bunsen's appreciation of the one concerning himself. Another elaborate study on Lord Rosse's telescopes won him the esteem and life-long friendship of that distinguished astronomer.

Our title of contents, imperfect as it is, will show the other and eminent Catholic writers of the day who formed part of the brilliant staff gathered round Wiseman and Russell. Dr. Lingard contributed at least three articles—one on "Dodd's Church History of England" (May 1839); one entitled "Did the Anglican Church Reform herself?" (May 1840); and one on "The Ancient Church of England and the Liturgy of the Anglican Church" (August 1841). Newman, apparently, wrote but a single article for the REVIEW, the one upon Keble's "*Lyra Innocentium*," in the issue of June 1846. The learned Drs. Murray and Croly, of Maynooth, were very frequent contributors. So were Dr. Abraham, M.P., Professor Robertson, J. F. Palmer, and of course the Editor, Mr. Bagshawe, besides others too numerous to cite here. One article, the first in the issue for February 1843, is assigned in the editorial list to John, Earl of Shrewsbury; to this Father Russell appends the remark: "It proves to be an article of 66 pages on Recent Charges delivered by Protestant prelates, among them Henry Edward Manning, Archdeacon of Chichester. If the Earl wrote the learned article, he must

have been helped by his chaplain.”* The present Lord Chief Justice of England is credited with a single article, in the issue for August 1860, on “The Civil Correspondence of Wellington.” In the Oscott list this is recorded as by “Mr. Chas. A. Russell, Bar., London, nephew of Dr. Russell.” The article on “Carlyle’s Works,” in the issue for September 1850, which Carlyle, according to Froude, found to be “excellently serious,” and conjectured to be from the pen of Dr. Ward, turns out to have been written by John O’Hagan, then a young Newry barrister of twenty-eight, afterwards Mr. Justice O’Hagan, who appears once more in July 1873, with an article on the O’Keefe case.

A word should be said of the style of these “Old Dublin Reviewers.” It partakes of the prevalent “quarterly” style of its time, grave, dignified, erudite ; each article commencing with a deliberate “exordium” of more or less rhetorical character, with reflections of a very general nature, sometimes *gemino ab ovo*, and occasionally rather remote from the subject in hand. The strict REVIEW form is also maintained, and every article “hangs upon its own proper peg,” in the form of a book or books, or even *The Times* newspaper, duly cited at its head. Our more busy times, perhaps, would be impatient of this old-fashioned and stately procedure. Yet, it cannot be denied that the old “Dublins” have a charm of erudition and style all their own. “What treasures of orthodox erudition,” to quote Father Russell once more, “are contained in those old volumes What labour, thought, learning, and piety of many hearts and minds are represented in this long series of half-yearly tomes !”†

The list of articles has, too, its historical value. Looked at chronologically, it presents a complete picture of the history of Catholic thought and life for the best part of this century. Beginning almost before the first stirring of the waters of the “Oxford movement,” and under the very shadow of penal days, the succeeding volumes gradually introduce us to the full strife of those intellectually stirring times, with Wiseman as the protagonist on the Catholic side. In No. 13 (August 1839) we come, with almost a shock of glad surprise, upon the now

* *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxi. p. 85.

† *Ibid.* vols. xxi. p. 90 ; xxii. p. 637.

historical article, nay upon the very page and the very footnote (vol. vii. p. 154) of that article, of which we knew from his own words that it was the "shadow of the hand upon the wall," to John Henry Newman—the protagonist on the Anglican side—and the means in God's Providence which was to decide his future for him. That simple footnote on p. 154 contains "the palmary words of St. Augustine," *securus judicat orbis terrarum*—which ever afterwards, Newman tells us in his *Apologia*, "kept ringing in my ears," and "struck me with a power which I had never felt from words before. . . . By those great words of the ancient Father, the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverised." And, he adds, "he who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it." If the DUBLIN REVIEW had no other title to gratitude, it might securely rest its fame on having given to the world that Article VI. of its 13th quarterly number, whose effect has been more far-reaching than that of any other magazine article ever written. Little by little, the leaders of the Tractarian movement, from being opponents to be fought with and convinced, come over to us one by one, and in their turn take their places in our ranks as contributors to the REVIEW. Ward, Oakeley, and Marshall simultaneously appear together (as far as our deficient records inform us) in the March issue of 1846: the two first-named become very frequent contributors. Morris, Christie, Formby, Capes, Allies, Anderdon, Manning (December 1854), Ffoulkes, and other converts of note gradually appear in the list, side by side with the members of the older staff. Meanwhile, we have come to the epoch of the Hierarchy, and the new Cardinal Archbishop himself in two consecutive numbers (December 1850, and March 1851), presents the Catholic view of that burning question. And similarly—space will not allow us to give further examples—all the great contemporary movements in Church and State, in education and literature, in scientific discovery and exploration, are faithfully reflected, as in a mirror, in the DUBLIN'S table of contents. One could compile a history of the times from the contemporary pages of the old DUBLIN alone.

Before laying aside for good the volumes of the Original Series, we may add one or two little items, rather of interest than of importance, that we have jotted down in the course of

our pleasant task of examining these old tomes. Lady writers are by no means the novelty people might imagine them to be in our grave quarterly. The first paper by a lady appears as early as the fourth volume, being on "Irish Novels and Irish Novelists" (April 1838), attributed to Mrs. Fitzsimons. This lady was a daughter of Daniel O'Connell. It is also somewhat surprising to note that the early REVIEW was not always shy of illustrations: Plates or wood-cuts adorn several articles on architecture and archæology,* as well as the one above referred to on Rosse's telescopes.† Wiseman, in his letters to Russell, several times complains of the length of articles. No wonder; in Vol. xlv., No. 92 (June 1859), an article by Finlayson, on "The Government of the Papal States," actually occupies 125 pages! By way of contrast, the following year in Vol. xlviii. No. 96 (August 1860), Miss St. John contents herself with a space of a little over five and a half pages for her last article. Editors must have been made of less stern stuff in those days than in ours.

But lest we should yield to the temptation of becoming garrulous, without the excuse of old age, we must regretfully close the venerable tomes of the "Wiseman-Russell" era, and turn our attention, though more briefly, to the series which followed.

II.

A decided alteration, both in outward appearance and in style and tendency, marks the "New Series," which began in July 1863, with Dr. W. G. Ward as proprietor and editor, and Mr. Cashel Hoey as sub-editor. Dr. Ward's own tastes and talents very naturally impressed themselves strongly upon his REVIEW. Metaphysics now tended to come more and more to the front in the literary *menu*. Dr. Ward was the chief antagonist of John Stuart Mill, and esteemed by that philosopher as the foeman best worthy of his steel. Hence much of the long metaphysical duel between those two powerful minds was fought out in the pages of the DUBLIN. Three other lines of thought were also represented by Dr. Ward's own writings in the REVIEW during

* Vols. ix. No. 18; x. No. 20; xii. No. 23; xix. No. 37.

† Vol. xviii. No. 35.

this time, one regarding the Papal Infallibility, another touching the "Relations between Religion and Politics," and the third on the burning question of Catholics and the higher Education. In a memorial article by Cardinal Manning on the occasion of Ward's death (Third Series, October 1882), a list is given of all Ward's contributions under these heads (pp. 268-270), to which the reader may be referred. We must remark, however, that he will find some considerable discrepancies between these lists and that compiled from the memoranda of Mr. Cashel Hoey in the *Irish Monthly* (April 1893). Cardinal Manning, in the article referred to, writes as follows :

What [THE REVIEW] owed to him during the sixteen years in which he was not only editor but chief contributor, and what aid even after he had ceased to conduct it, he still gave by a constant series of philosophical writings, is well known. And yet the importance of his work is perhaps fully known only to a few who were in immediate contact with him and with the DUBLIN REVIEW. The great success of the first series of the DUBLIN REVIEW, when it was sustained by the contributions of the illustrious group of men who surrounded the late Cardinal Wiseman in his early career, had by the same order of time and nature by which we also are now deprived, began to decline. In the year 1862 Cardinal Wiseman gave to me the legal proprietorship of the DUBLIN REVIEW on the condition that I would ensure its continuation. After certain preliminary endeavours Mr. Ward accepted in full the responsibility of editor. He has stated that all articles passed under the judgment of three censors, who were charged to examine the bearing of them on faith, morals, and ecclesiastical prudence. From the time he undertook the office of editor, he threw himself into it as the work and way in which, as a layman, he was to serve the Church. . . . Perhaps the only other contemporaneous example of the all but identity of an editor with his periodical is *Brownson's Review*. In both cases the power of mind in the editor impressed a dominant character upon the work. This fact may have made the REVIEW less interesting to general readers, but it greatly increased its intrinsic value. . . . The second series of the DUBLIN REVIEW did not rank among literary magazines, but it fairly won and kept its place among the weightier and more serious quarterly periodicals.*

Ward himself, in what he justly styles a "personal" article, contributed to Vol. viii. No. 15 of his periodical (January 1867), in the form of a review of his own fourteen preceding numbers, defends the new series with considerable spirit from two adverse criticisms, the one directed against "what is con-

* N. S. vol. viii. pp. 265, 266.

sidered the undue preponderance given by us to theology," the other, "that our tone is too peremptory and overbearing, that we erect our own private opinion into a kind of shibboleth (as it has been expressed to us); and that we speak of those who oppose our own private views just as though they opposed the Church's authoritative teaching."* Those were, indeed, the days of hot controversy and hard hitting all round. Very warm waxed the warfare round dogmatic questions like the Vatican Council, the Papal Infallibility and its extent, the Syllabus, and religious "liberalism," and round the vexed questions of our Catholic colleges and the National Universities. The atmosphere in which the "Ward Series" lived was therefore essentially polemical, both with regard to external foes and to internal disputants. In the concluding number of the Series (October 1878), Cardinal Manning in a "Letter" which forms the first article gives a general approval to the line taken up by Ward in the course of these controversies. His Eminence also adds:

In the course of this period three special subjects of great moment have been forced both by events and by anti-Catholic public opinion upon our attention—I mean the Temporal Power of the Holy See, the relations of the Spiritual and Civil Powers, and the Infallibility of the Head of the Church. In all these your vigilant and powerful writings have signally contributed to produce the unity of mind which exists among us, and a more considerate and respectful tone even in our antagonists.†

As we have said, we are not writing the "secret history" of the DUBLIN, that is a matter to be left to a future, and a more remote generation. The very wide difference of opinion and the almost acrimonious tone of discussion which they engendered among men of the highest intellectual and spiritual excellence have left traces both in published articles and in private correspondence. We can now afford to look back calmly on the burning domestic questions of twenty years ago, and to recognise the earnestness of purpose and conviction of the disputants of both sides.

In his reply to Cardinal Manning's gracious message, Ward,

* N. S. vol. viii. pp. 164, 167.

† *Ibid.* vol. xxxi. pp. 275, 276.

in the same number, pays a handsome tribute to his faithful lieutenant :

It has been the chief felicity [he says] of my editorial lot, that I have obtained the co-operation of one so eminently qualified to supply these deficiencies as Mr. Cashel Hoey. It was once said to me most truly, that he has rather been joint-editor than sub-editor. One-half of the *REVIEW* has been in some sense under his supreme control ; and it is a matter of extreme gratification to look back at the entire harmony which has prevailed from the first between him and myself. In the various anxieties which inevitably beset me from time to time, he has invariably shown himself, not only to be a calm and sagacious adviser, but even more, to be the most cordial and sympathetic of friends.*

The staff of writers gathered around Ward and Cashel Hoey was also a very brilliant one. Dr. Russell, indeed, as we have seen, continued his active co-operation up to the beginning of 1877, as also did Dr. Murray. The latter's article, "The Vatican Council, its Authority and Work," in the issue for January 1873, was considered by Dr. Ward, we are told,† "the best paper he had ever sent to him," during the same series. Prof. St. George Mivart commenced his long critical "Examination of Herbert Spencer's Psychology," which continued its career right into the Third Series. Other writers who contributed to the Series were Mr. Edward Healy Thompson, Father Anderdon, S.J., Father Coleridge, S.J., Mr. J. C. Earle, Mr. W. H. Wilberforce, Canon Oakeley, Canon (afterwards Bishop) Hedley, Father Roger Bede Vaughan, O.S.B. (afterwards Archbishop of Sydney), Father Herbert Vaughan, D.D. (now our Cardinal Archbishop), Mr. Allies, Dr. Ives (the converted Bishop of the Episcopal Church of America), Mr. David Lewis, Mr. Marshall, and of course, both Mr. and Mrs. Cashel Hoey. These names, at least, besides a few others, have been preserved for us in the sub-editor's memoranda, which are unfortunately very incomplete. Father Russell opines that the touching "filial memorial" on the death of Cardinal Wiseman, which opens the April issue for 1865, was penned by Dr. Manning, so soon to succeed to the vacant archiepiscopal throne. That "memorial" contains Cardinal Wiseman's own memorandum, dated Easter 1853,

* N. S. pp. 277, 278.

† *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxi. p. 209.

narrating the origin and early history of the DUBLIN, which appeared as preface to his volume of Essays issued in that year, and from which we have already quoted. It also records the fact that :

In the last two years since it passed into other hands the declining health of our lamented Cardinal compelled him to postpone again and again the kind and encouraging promises he made to us of contributions from his pen. No line written by him has therefore appeared in it.*

The following well-merited panegyric of Wiseman's work in the old series is added :

If at the end of our labours the second series of the DUBLIN REVIEW should yield from all the hands which may contribute to it three volumes of essays worthy to stand afar off by those of Cardinal Wiseman, for beauty, variety, learning, freshness, originality, above all, for pure, solid Catholic doctrine and high filial devotion to Rome, we shall hope that we have not failed in the trust which he has bequeathed to us.

III.

The final number of the Second or "Ward Series" of the REVIEW (October 1878), concluding its thirty-first volume, contained a fly-leaf with the following announcement :

"The historic DUBLIN," now in the forty-second year of its existence, has been made over by Mr. W. G. WARD to his Lordship the Bishop of Salford. On the first of January the first number of a new, or Third Series, will appear, under the editorship of the Right Rev. Bishop HEDLEY.

While faithfully adhering to the great Catholic principles, for the maintenance of which it came into existence, and which have been its *raison d'être* and its very life for over forty years, the DUBLIN REVIEW will now undergo certain modifications, calculated to render it more widely popular and more acceptable to a larger number of tastes and interests.

The REVIEW, in its Third Series, will aim at maintaining its traditional high standard of Theological and Metaphysical Science; in its Historical, Literary, and Political Articles it will endeavour to combine solidity and usefulness with brilliancy of treatment; and each number will contain a Summary of the contents of Foreign Catholic Contemporary Periodicals, Short Notices of all New Catholic Works, and a Quarterly Review of Science.

* N. S. vol. iv. p. 270.

The work of the DUBLIN REVIEW will be, as heretofore, to deepen Catholic intellectual life; to promote Catholic interests; to enlighten and assist those who are seeking for Catholic truth; to utter warnings against dangers to Faith and practice; and to diminish as far as possible that friction, arising from national, local, or personal narrowness, which retards the onward march of Catholic principle. Its motto, as that of all Catholic journals, must be—Truth, Culture, and Conciliation.

In order to render the REVIEW the more interesting, all the articles will be signed with the names of the writers.

The strict rule of anonymity had already been partially relaxed in the Second Series. The "Historical Notes of the Tractarian Movement," which appeared in its earlier issues, were signed by their author, Canon Oakeley. Initials, like M. D. T., T. F. M. (*i.e.*, Mathew), and R. E. G., were occasionally allowed to appear. Papers by Mr. St. G. Mivart (October 1876), Father H. Formby (January 1877), and the Hon. W. (afterwards Lord) Petre (July 1878), were published over their authors' full names; the object of Dr. Ward being to allow certain of his contributors liberty to express views with which he did not desire the REVIEW or its editor to be identified. In the Third Series the signing of articles was carried out as a principle, though by no means uniformly observed: in No. 9 (January 1881), only a single article, by Bishop Spalding, is signed, or acknowledged! By degrees, however, the custom became practically universal. Librarians will do well to note that for the first four volumes of the Third Series the numeration of the second was continued—xxxii. to xxxv.; with the next volume the new series began an independent numbering of its own, and that the first half-yearly volume of 1881 is marked vol. v. This was carried on up to the close of the series, the last volume of it being xxvi., which ended 1891.

As announced in the circular quoted, the third series opened under the editorship of the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., the learned Bishop of Newport and Menevia, who contributed to the first number the admirable article on "Catholicism and Culture," which opens the series. This first issue (January 1879) had also the fortune to secure an article on "The Work and Wants of the Church in England," from the pen of Cardinal Manning, and one on "The Evangelisation of Africa," from that of his destined successor, Bishop (now Cardinal) Vaughan. The series thus began under very bright

auspices, and a number of very distinguished names appear in the table of contents of subsequent numbers. Cardinal Manning is credited with at least five subsequent articles, of which the last (July 1891) was entitled "Leo XIII. on the Condition of Labour," but half a year before the great Cardinal's death. We learn from some editorial correspondence that His Eminence had also planned a paper upon General Gordon early in 1885, but unfortunately "Gives it up—has not time." The article on the subject which did appear in April ("The Destiny of Khartoum") was, though not signed, from the indefatigable pen of Miss E. M. Clerke, whose industry as a DUBLIN reviewer during two series almost rivals that of Dr. Russell; and we gather that Gordon's sister "wrote to the writer to thank her for it, as expressive of her own feelings in the portion where Gordon's desertion is described." Another future Cardinal, Dr. Moran, at that time Bishop of Ossory, contributed an interesting paper on "The Birthplace of St. Patrick" to the issue of April 1880, and one on "The Condition of Catholics in Ireland a Hundred Years Ago," in that of January 1882. The late Bishop Clifford, of Clifton, brought out in those of April and October 1881, his novel theory concerning the "Days of the Week and the Works of Creation," which excited no little interest and controversy at the time. Among other episcopal contributors to the series will be noticed the erudite Bishop Healy, Bishop Ullathorne, and, of course, the episcopal Editor. This third series also secured a large share of foreign contributors, a very rare feature in the earlier series. Among these we meet with Professors de Harlez, Lamy, Alberdingk Thijm, and Colinet of Louvain; the Abbé Motais, Bishop Spalding of Peoria, and Senator Power of Ottawa.

Other novelties announced in the programme were duly introduced, and have since remained marked features of the DUBLIN, differentiating it to some extent from other old quarterlies. The department of book-notices received a very considerable extension. In the earliest issues of the Original Series, no notices of the kind appear, but only an occasional "summary" of foreign literature, though, strange to say, for several years a short appendix of "Miscellaneous Intelligence," political as well as religious, was added to each issue. The notices of books appear to have commenced with the May number of

1840, in Vol. viii., Original Series, but, even to the end of the series, never exceeded very modest proportions. Dr. Ward's series gave a much greater development to these short reviews; but in the Third and Fourth Series they have assumed still larger importance. Other new and useful departments now added were the "Science Notes" and "Notes on Travel and Exploration," still regularly continued.

Bishop Hedley was ably assisted in his editorial duties by an excellent sub-editor, the Rev. W. E. Driffield, whose name deserves to be recorded with due honour side by side with those of Bagshawe and Cashel Hoey. At the close of 1884 Dr. Hedley resigned the editorial chair, which was then assumed by the Right Rev. Herbert Vaughan, then Bishop of Salford, who thus again, like Dr. Ward, combined the functions of proprietor and editor, which he retained till the close of 1891. The multifarious duties and occupations of the editor's busy episcopal life very naturally threw an ever-increasing share of labour upon the devoted sub-editor, and to a very considerable extent Father Driffield may be said to have been rather the acting editor during the last few years of the Series.

With the beginning of 1892 the editorship was conferred upon its present incumbent, the Very Rev. James Moyes, D.D., now Canon Theologian of Westminster, and with the change commenced also the Fourth and current Series of the DUBLIN REVIEW. There was somewhat of an alteration in outward appearance, and in one respect at least a reversion to the memories of the Original "Wiseman" Series. The new first volume of the series was numbered Vol. cx., the numeration thus going right back to the beginning, and the first issue bore number "220," by a curious miscalculation, which will puzzle some future librarian, for it should have been "219." This first quarterly issue was scarcely in the hands of its readers when the whole country was shocked with the death of the venerable Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, who himself had twenty-seven years before consecrated in the pages of the REVIEW a "Memorial" to his predecessor, Cardinal Wiseman. A graceful and pathetic memorial article from the pen of the lamented Father Lockhart appeared in the subsequent issue, April 1892, and also an article on the same subject by his future biographer, Mr. E. S. Purcell. It is interesting also to

note that the opening article of this Fourth Series was that on "England's Devotion to St. Peter" by the then Bishop of Salford, who at the very moment the second part of his article was issuing from the press in the April number, had succeeded Manning and Wiseman on the metropolitan throne of Westminster, as he had succeeded them in the proprietorship of the "historic DUBLIN." The intimate connection between the three successive Cardinals and Archbishops of Westminster and the great Catholic Quarterly, of which this coincidence is but the outward symbol, is not a little remarkable, and confirms the impression of the very large part played by the REVIEW in the history of Catholic thought and life during the past sixty years.

It would be unsuitable and unnecessary to say more about the Fourth Series, now only in its fifth year of existence, and with the whole twentieth century, as we may hope, before it. If the past be any augury of the future, the omens are certainly propitious. We can heartily wish it God-speed in its career.

This memorial notice has been entrusted to the pen of one who has no official connection with the editorial staff of the REVIEW, and who can, therefore, write with more freedom, and without any danger of appearing to commit the managers to any of the views expressed. Certain writers have sometimes speculated, in idle mood, what work they would choose, if condemned for years to solitary imprisonment, or to banishment on a desert isle, with no other companion than one single set of volumes. Was it not Matthew Arnold who thought he would select Migne's edition of the Fathers? The present writer is not at all sure whether, if he were in the predicament, he would not take for his choice the 118 volumes of the DUBLIN REVIEW from 1836 to 1896.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

ART. II.—CATHOLIC ANTIQUITIES OF THE DARENTH VALLEY, KENT.

I.—OTFORD, THE ARCHBISHOPS' PALACE.

BELOW the picturesque line of chalk hills intersecting the heart of Kent runs the little river Darenth, a tributary of the Medway, through a beautiful and fertile valley.

At the foot of the hills lies the old village of Otford, with its "Castle" (so-called) *i.e.*, the remains of the old palace of the Archbishops, its holy well—that of St. Thomas of Canterbury, its hop gardens, little river, and smiling flat fields. The white chalk hills close behind it are traversed by the "Pilgrims' Way," along which countless footsteps have wended to the martyr's shrine in olden times. It is marked by a dark line of old yews, which conceal the sunken lane, and were planted, it is said, to show the way across the white hills to the pilgrims. It is plainly visible from afar, and still a much frequented highway, though not for travellers to Canterbury.

The first mention of Otford in history is in connection with Offa, the warlike king of Mercia. A terrible battle was fought at Otford in 796, in which Offa conquered the king of Kent, made him captive, and took possession of his kingdom. The ploughman even now often turns up human bones; and quantities of skeletons, with weapons, were found some years ago in a farmer's field. William of Malmesbury says: "Edilbert, commonly called Pren," was the king conquered, and some etymologists derive the name of the village from *Offa's Ford*. The name is also written in old documents as Otteford, Ottanford, &c. The victorious king made satisfaction to the Church for this bloodshed, by granting the village to Canterbury, as "pasture for the Bishop's hogs," as expressed in an old document; this was the beginning of the connection between Otford and Canterbury, which continued till the Reformation.

Otford was the scene of another terrible battle in 1016, when Edmund Ironside conquered the Danes, and many skeletons with broken swords and pieces of armour of that date were found when the South-Eastern Railway was made

through the valley. The lands of Otford belonged to the Archbishop and the Monastery of Canterbury in common, till the time of Lanfranc, who came to the See in 1070, when the village was allotted to the Archbishop as private property. In the Domesday-book it is stated that the Archbishop held Otford in demesne, and that it was taxed at "eight *sulings*," and that it had a population of 101 "villeins," and eighteen "borderers" (owners of plots of land), and that there were six mills, 50 acres of meadow, and "*pannage* for 150 hogs." Little is altered nowadays in the old village, save the disappearance of the mills. But with the twelfth century Otford comes into prominence as a favourite residence of St. Thomas à Becket.

When he was attached to the household of Archbishop Theobald, the latter gave him the living of Otford, at the same time as that of St. Mary, Strand, although he was then in deacon's orders. Possibly, therefore, he never took up residence here till he became Archbishop. The "Manor House" must have been a considerable place at this time, and was built in the time of Lanfranc, as several writers affirm. Erasmus, in his dedication of the New Testament to the King of France, speaks as if this place had been a ground of quarrel between Becket and the King, but this statement is derived, no doubt, from the words of Alanus, who says: "That after Becket was apprehended at supper-time, the Bishops of London and Chichester came to him, declaring that if he would surrender up to the King his mansions at Otford and Wingham, there was hope that he would recover the King's favour, and that all would be forgiven." This, no doubt, was an artful plea for spoliation, but Becket did not fall in with it.

However this may be, the great Archbishop left lasting traces of his beneficent presence in the village, for before his time it was noted for want of water, a want which is felt to this day in other districts of this part of Kent. The legend runs that St. Thomas, like another Moses, struck the ground with his pastoral staff, and a limpid stream gushed forth, which was called "St. Thomas's Well," celebrated for its healing properties. It is confined in an oblong paved bath, about ten feet long, with steps leading down to the clear, bubbling waters, and lined with strong stone masonry, perfect to this day. The

rafters still left in parts over it, show that it was roofed in. I have often sipped its clear waters, overhung with graceful creepers, and surrounded by fragrant hop-gardens, somewhat behind the village. Modern antiquarians have endeavoured to explain the well as a Roman bath, for Otford was once a Roman settlement, the remains of a camp being still evident on a neighbouring hill, and many Roman tiles being picked up in the fields and Roman *snails* still abounding here. But I cannot observe the slightest trace of Roman tiles or bricks in the masonry of the well, which appears to me of a later date. The Saint is said to have often bathed in the well, and in later times the Archbishops, when worn by old age and sickness, used to retire to peaceful Otford, to benefit by the miraculous waters. Some legends of St. Thomas, still current in the village, are less grateful to his memory. They say that one summer evening the Saint was performing his devotions under a tree, when the nightingales sung so loudly that he was disturbed by them, and banished them with a malediction from Otford. The curious fact that nightingales do not often sing at Otford perhaps gave rise to this story. But then the cause of their fancies for different localities has not yet been discovered. I should rather suppose that poor Philomel refuses to sing there because her kind patron was so cruelly martyred.

They say, too, that no blacksmith ever prospers in the village, since St. Thomas's mare was mis-shod at the village forge, and received an anathema for his pains. It is sad that the great Saint's name should only linger in his own village by these idle and spiteful legends of prejudice or ignorance, while his miracles and holy life are concealed from the people. In 1188, a letter from King Henry II. to Clement III. was dated from Otford, showing that the despotic monarch was staying at the Manor then. After the death of St. Thomas, it is probable that most of the Archbishops resided more or less at Otford.

It is related that Archbishop Winchelsea entertained Edward I. at the Manor House with great state, and that he lived there for the last years of his life, for the benefit of the waters of St. Thomas's Well, only leaving it to visit Canterbury from time to time when his presence was necessary. Simon Islip also spent his last years at Otford, and was riding thence

to Mayfield, when he fell from his horse in a marsh, and arriving at Mayfield lay down on the stone-floor instead of going to bed, and died there of a paralytic stroke. Before leaving Otford he nominated to the See of Rochester his nephew, William Whittlesey, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The latter also passed his old age at Otford, and in 1372 consecrated there, or perhaps only confirmed, Thomas de Arundel to the See of Ely, and he in his turn became Archbishop of Canterbury. Other Archbishops resided at Otford, but in 1501 Henry Dene was raised to the primacy and he rebuilt the greater part of the Manor. His successor, Archbishop Warham, at first intended to build a palace at Canterbury, but owing to disputes about the ground, he built at Otford instead, spending £33,000 on the mansion, an enormous sum at that time. Only the walls of the hall and chapel were retained of the former building, and the Archbishop resided there entirely, entertaining Erasmus on a visit once, for letters by him are dated from Otford. It obtained its zenith of importance then, for evil times were near at hand, and Henry VIII. soon coveted its repose. Cranmer was the servile Archbishop, when what is called "the foolish exchange" was made, and it was given to Henry, though what he gave in exchange is hard to discover.

Strype quotes the words of Ralf Morice, Cranmer's secretary, as follows :

I was by when Otford and Knole were given him (Knole is at Seven-oaks, three miles from Otford, and is still a splendid historical mansion, belonging to Lord Sackville). My Lord minded to have retained Knole unto himself, and said it was too small a house for his Majesty. "Marry," said the King, "I would rather have it than this house," meaning Otford, "for it standeth on a better soil. This house standeth low, and is rheumatic, like unto Croydon, where I never could be without sickness; and as for Knole it standeth on a perfect, sound ground. If, therefore, I should make my abode here, as I mean to do, now and then, I will live at Knole, and most of my house shall live at Otford." By this means (adds Morice), both these houses were delivered into the King's hands. And as for Otford, it is a notable, great, and ample house, whose reparation yearly cost my lord more than one would think.

It is believed that Cranmer compiled the Anglican liturgy at Otford before he left. The royal spoiler then appointed Sir William Long, Lord High Steward of the Manor of

Otford, and keeper of the woods and parks (there are no woods round Otford at present). As keeper of the messuage he was to have 2*d.* a day, as keeper of the garden and orchard 4*d.*, as keeper of the parks 4*d.* a day, and as "Steward of the Honour of Otford," his salary was £6 15*s.* 4*d.* The round sum of his annual income must, therefore, have cost him some arithmetic.

Otford then had a three weeks' Court, where actions not above 40*s.* were tried. The profits of these went to the High Steward. There were two parks, the greater and the lesser, the former being disparked in the time of Edward III., but the latter, including parts of Otford, Seal and Kemsing (a neighbouring village of great interest to Catholics, which we shall shortly describe), was given by James I. to Sir Thomas Smythe, so that we see how large a tract belonged to the Archbishops, for this park covered 700 acres.

And what became of the Archbishop's palace, the beautiful Manor? Forty years after the death of Warham had hardly passed, and his palace was already a ruin, incredible as it may seem. Lamharde, who wrote his "*Perambulation of Kent*," in 1570, says: "In my time nothing remained of the fabric but the hall and the chapel." Hasted, in a "*History of Kent*," written at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "In my time there were two towers, a well, and a part of an outer court. The towers had been two stories high, but the larger falling in, the owner caused the upper story of both to be taken down."

All that remains now is a picturesque square tower covered with ivy, at the north-west angle of a quadrangle, now turned into a farmyard; and a corridor, now converted into cottages thatched with straw; and the whole is turned into a farm. Though occupied by gardens, the sight of the original fabric is still visible, and a raised lawn terrace is traceable, and the remains of a building which may have been an entrance. The walls of the tower are begrimed with smoke, for only lately it was used as a smithy (no wonder, then, the blacksmiths here are not prosperous), and no building could have been treated with more neglect and wanton destruction for the last three centuries than the palace of the Archbishops.

Thus nobly was "the honour of Otford" maintained.

Chiselled stones, almost as perfect as when they came from the masons' hands, lie buried in the *débris* of the court, the carved oak beams form part of other buildings, a carved-oak pannelled door was seen lately used as a cucumber frame, whence it was rescued by the Vicar, Dr. Hunt, to whose researches I am indebted for much of the history of the place. A cottager gave him the fire-dogs belonging to Archbishop Warham, and ornamented with the Archiepiscopal arms. At the "Bull Inn" are to be seen Gothic chimney pieces, wainscotting, and a carved-oak chest from the palace. On the chimney-piece are carved some curious figures, supposed to represent Henry and Katherine of Aragon. It is said that George I. once came to Sevenoaks for a review, and the barbarous villagers, thinking that the king at Knole could not see the tower plainly from that distance, stripped the ivy off and whitewashed it.

The old Church of Otford raises its square tower close to "the Castle," and is dedicated to St. Bartholomew. The tower is supposed to be of the time of Edward I., but the lower part is older.

The holy water stoup is visible in the porch, and many empty niches for statues in the church.

There is a curious altar tomb in the chancel defaced, but looking as if it might be the resting-place of a bishop. Two stones with crosses on them were dug out of the churchyard and placed behind the font by the Vicar. Catholics will recognise by this the true altar-stones. There was a miraculous statue of St. Bartholomew in the Church, and many miracles were said to have been worked there, until Henry VIII. came to Otford to confer about dividing the lesser park. One Robert Multon set before him (says Lambarde) "this notorious scandal," and the King at once ordered it to be removed. The Church was partly burned in the time of James I. and rebuilt in the time of Charles I., the porch bearing the date 1637. On its restoration in 1862 by Street, he caused all the tombstones in the church to be placed together in a corner, where they are now covered by the organ.

The west wall is adorned by the escutcheons of the Polhill family, mentioned in Domesday-book, and whose last descendants still live a few miles off.

Edward VI. gave the parsonage and advowson to Sir Anthony Denny, who handed it over for an exchange to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, in whose possession it still remains. But for the greater part of the last century there was no resident clergyman at all. A curate used occasionally to come over, and tradition says that the clerk used to ascend the tower on Sunday, and if he saw a horse and rider posting to Otford he rang the bell, and the people knew then that there would be a service.

Thus low has fallen the village where sanctity, learning and civilisation once reigned in the palace of the Archbishops, and where England's celebrated martyr walked and prayed in the quiet retreat which he loved so well.

II.—ST. EDYTHE'S WELL, KEMSING.

Not far from Otford, in the same valley, but nearer to the hills, lies the smaller village of Kemsing. Its old name was Camsing (Camp-sing), from the Roman camp before mentioned.

The quaint little church, standing at the higher end of the village, is dedicated to St. Edythe, who was born here, according to tradition, an old cottage being still pointed out as her birthplace; or more probably occupying its site. It is a straggling village with one street, beside which is the pond, and beyond this a small circular green, in the centre of which is the Holy Well; the road turns round it upwards on its way to the hills. The well is circular, and enclosed by a low stone wall, with an opening on one side, also walled, where the steps lead down to the water's level. It bears the signs of great age, and here the villagers may still be seen coming to draw water for their homes, and they still believe that it possesses unusual virtues.

According to the practice still current those who desire to obtain some wish, have only to go to the well, call on St. Edythe to help them, throwing some of the water over the left shoulder, and keep silence until spoken to, and they are sure to obtain their desire.

Can we not trace in this idea a tradition of their Catholic ancestors going to the well, crossing themselves with its holy water, and saying a *pater* perhaps in silence for St. Edythe's

intercession? An Anglican lady living near related to me the story of a boy's wish granted by this practice, and said that she knew the favours asked were often granted, "whatever may be the reason." The boy was fifteen, and ardently desired a microscope, which he had no means of obtaining, so thought he would try the powers of the well. He performed the traditional ceremony, and before a fortnight was passed he received a microscope from a very unexpected quarter, and a much finer one than he had asked for. He was deeply impressed by the occurrence at the time.

A statue of St. Edythe was set up in the little churchyard in Catholic times, and was an object of great veneration in the village, her intercession being especially for preserving the harvest from "blasting, mildew, and other harm" (*v. Lambarde's "Perambulations of Kent"*). The church dates from the twelfth century, and though it has been restored, its fine old roof, ancient rood screen and monuments proclaim its age.

There was a small chapel on the north side of the church specially dedicated to the Saint, probably containing the statue; where, too, a relic, said to be a portion of her arm, was kept. This was presented by the Convent of Wilton, where St. Edythe spent most of her life, and died as Abbess. This portion of the church was destroyed at the Reformation, and the fate of the relic is unknown. The land on which the cottage of St. Edythe stands was presented to Wilton by King Edgar, father of the Saint, some time after her birth, being the fulfilment of a canonical penance imposed on him by St. Dunstan for a great crime, another condition being that he was not to wear his crown at Easter for seven years.

Her mother had been brought up in the convent of Wilton—some say she was a nun—and was called Wulfrith, and she and the little Edythe too found a quiet home there. Few facts are known about her short life, for she died when she was twenty-three only. She lived in stormy times, but managed to escape the hatred and violence of Elgiva, the cruel second wife of King Edgar, who murdered her step-son, Edward the Martyr, by means of a poisoned cup of mead, taken at her castle while hunting.

The throne being then vacant, a weak attempt was made to raise an opposition in favour of Edythe, the late King's half-

sister. But she quietly declined the proposal, not wishing to leave a retreat where she already felt a religious vocation. Thus Ethelred, son of Elgiva, for whom she had committed the crime, became king in 978.

At Wilton then "this blooming rose," as St. Dunstan called her, "was trained from infancy in the school of the Lord, and gained His favour by her purity and constant watchings, repressing the pride of her high birth by her humility" (William of Malmesbury). Radbo, of Rheims, and Benna, of Treves, are mentioned as being her preceptors, and the following anecdote of her is also told by William of Malmesbury. Many people were led to false conclusions about her holiness by reason of the splendour of her dress,

she being always habited in a richer garb than the sanctity of her profession seemed to require. On this account she was openly rebuked by St. Ethelwold, to whom she answered: that the judgment of God was true and irrefragable, while that of man alone was fallible: for pride might exist under the garb of wretchedness. "Wherefore I think," said she, "that a mind may be as pure beneath these vestments as under your tattered furs."

The Bishop was deeply struck by this answer, and "remained silent, blushing for pleasure."

St. Edythe had a great devotion to St. Denys, and built a church in his honour. At its consecration by St. Dunstan, he observed her frequently making the sign of the cross on her forehead. "May that finger," he exclaimed, "never see corruption."

Long after her death, when her coffin was opened, in order that her body might be enshrined at Wilton, that finger was alone found intact. (We wonder whether this celebrated finger was part of the relic treasured at Kemsing?)

After this incident, while celebrating Mass, St. Dunstan burst into a flood of tears, which much alarmed the server. In answer to his inquiries afterwards into the cause of his grief, St. Dunstan is reported to have said:

"Soon shall this blooming rose wither! soon shall this beloved bird take its flight to God, at the expiration of six weeks from this time!" And so it came to pass, for six weeks after this occasion the young Abbess died peacefully at the age of twenty-three. Soon after St. Dunstan saw in a dream St.

Denys, the saint's heavenly friend, take the virgin by the hand and enjoin upon him, "that she should be honoured by her servants on earth in the same way that she was honoured by her Spouse and Master in heaven."

Miracles multiplied at her tomb (mentioned in Leland), and some years after her death it was ordered that her body should be translated to the shrine I have mentioned, not far from the marble mausoleum in which Wulfrith, her mother, was buried. Here the Chronicler reluctantly leaves this sweet Anglo-Saxon Saint with the remark: "All virtues have long since quitted the earth, and retired to heaven: or if anywhere (but this I must say with the permission of holy men) are to be found only in the hearts of nuns."*

But after these thousand years it is interesting to hear St. Edythe's name still pronounced by rustic tongues around her unforgotten well, where her powerful intercession still extends its influence.

A. M. WILSON.

Note.—Kemsing Church was afterwards granted to the priory of Bermondsey by a licence from Richard II., rents being reserved for a perpetual vicar on certain conditions: one being that 40*l.* was to be paid yearly to each of the poorest parishioners, or meat and drink to the same value. The villagers would regret these good times, did they know it, for Henry VIII., in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, took possession of the church rents for himself: nor do we hear of any minister of religion in this poor village during the last century. For about thirty-five years it has had the ministrations of an Anglican Vicar, new schools and vicarage have been built, and the church restored.

* William of Malmesbury.

ART. III.—BIBLICAL SCIENCE AND THE BIBLE.

A REMARKABLE series of articles on the subject of the Church and the Bible has been appearing in the DUBLIN REVIEW within the last fifteen months.* The articles are characterised by thoroughness, candour, and moderation; they are scholarly, and evince a wide knowledge of Biblical literature. "Some *bookes* are to be read onely in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention."† These essays are such that they ought either to be passed over altogether, or else be read "with Diligence and Attention." In method, in closeness of argument, in selection of authorities, they approximate to the German school;‡ but at the same time due prominence is given to French and English scholarship; indeed, it is clear that the writer attaches great weight to the conclusions of the Abbé Loisy and, among English writers, of Father Clarke. It is a difficult task to deal with three such essays in a single review article; for they are suggestive and range over a great variety of topics. Of necessity, therefore, many questions of importance must be passed over in silence; others can only be cursorily glanced at; and, indeed, no subject can receive the full treatment it deserves.

Baron von Hügel concludes his first article with some eloquent words as to the spirit

in which to be fruitful, indeed to *count*, even for a day, the *labor improbus* of the study of the Bible, *quâ* human document, should . . . be conducted by the few who have the gifts and calling to give themselves to this form of service.§

Let the modern man be sure of one thing [he says, p. 30], let him feel it at any and every contact with your mind; that you would feel as a wound any stain on your intellectual honour, any violence done to any fact, however small and spurned: that you are striving day by day after

* Oct. 1894; April, 1895; Oct. 1895.

† Bacon's Essays. "Of Studies."

‡ Not used in any bad sense.

§ Art. i. p. 29. We quote the articles in pamphlet form.

intellectual chastity, that your very faith springs from love, a love of truth.

Who would not answer "amen" to these eloquent words? Nay! who would refuse to remove the restricting clause, and to apply them, not merely to the Bible, "*quâ* human document," but to the whole field of Biblical research? For what would it be else than sheer desecration to enter upon the defence of the Sacred Volume, the work of Truth itself, in the spirit of falsehood and deceit?

But, alas for human nature! No matter how well-intentioned a man may be, no matter how deep his veneration for intellectual honour, his judgment of facts is liable to be warped in many ways, by prejudice, early training, natural bent, public opinion, and the like; and this more especially in momentous far-reaching questions, such as politics and religion, which touch very nearly his present and future prospects. Professor Kuenen, thorough-going critic though he was, was not free from such human infirmities.

The priority of *Deuteronomy*, as compared with the priestly laws [he says in one place*] had been defended by George and Vatke. And when I now re-read the arguments which I then regarded as an adequate refutation of their views, I can but acknowledge the power of tradition, or, if you will, of public opinion, even in the domain of criticism! . . . The concessions I then made were inevitable, but wholly inadequate. From my present position I regard them, on the one hand, as a tribute extorted by the power of truth; but, on the other hand, as a humiliating proof of the tyranny which the opinions we have once accepted hold over us.

Doubtless such weaknesses as these exist among Catholics as well as critics, and account, far more frequently than any want of love of truth, for any seeming want of candour in their writings. It would not be fair, however, to imagine that they are to be found on one side only in the Catholic schools. The advocate of traditional views will naturally lean towards depreciating the results of criticism; making little of modern objections, exaggerating the importance of external and minimising the use of internal proofs. The student of more "advanced" views will no doubt give a fairer hearing to

* "The Hexateuch," introd., p. xiii.

critical difficulties. But he will have a tendency to pooh-pooh the objections of theologians; to treat lightly the generally-held teaching of the Catholic schools; to seize hold of a word or two in some ecclesiastical document of weight susceptible of a meaning in his own sense, and throw it in the face of his opponent, leaving in the dark whole paragraphs which seem plainly to teach the contrary doctrine.

All this is natural, consistent with perfect moral truth and unimpeachable rectitude. Nor is it easy for a man to shake off the habit of mind which has become almost a part of himself. But what is to be desired is that both parties should look facts in the face; that they should enter into and try to master thoroughly the views of the other side, with a view to ascertaining the real significance of their opponents' position; and finally, if they cannot agree with their conclusions, that they should endeavour to refute, not mere objections of their own creation, but the real difficulties which are brought against them.

Baron von Hügel lays down very clearly in his first article * the double relation in which Sacred Scripture stands to the Church of God:

The Church rests in part upon the Bible, as containing certain documents of at least human authority with regard to certain limited specific questions of fact; the Bible, as a library of Divine, inspired, inerrant books, rests, in strict logic, entirely upon the Church.†

In dealing with the Bible as one of the props of the Church, the Baron says, "We can, indeed must, at this stage use ordinary critical and historical standards and methods."‡

We have, then [he writes further on], to guard here both against following the mere fads and fashions of the day or anti-Theistic assumptions of any kind, and against in any way treating questions which, at this stage, are purely historical in a temper different from that in which other historical problems are investigated and established.

All this will appear sound and obvious to the reader. It is admitted, indeed laid down, by theologians of all schools. For it stands to reason that if a man who is not yet a Christian be asked to find the proof of the Church's mission in the

* Pp. 15-20.

† P. 15.

‡ P. 18.

Bible (which as yet he has no grounds for taking to be more than a mere human book), he must be allowed to inquire into its authenticity and credibility, just as he would do in the case of any other book. And Catholic writers, in dealing with Sacred Scripture for such men, must obviously use only "ordinary critical and historical standards and methods."

So far the ground is clear. The difficulty now begins. In olden times theologians fearlessly taught the complete immunity from error of the books of Sacred Scripture. They held the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch: no difficulty was felt as to Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Daniel. In the New Testament the Gospel problem resolved itself into harmonising the narratives of the four Gospels; and little trouble was experienced with regard either to the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistles. On the other hand, there were no "higher critics" to bring objections against the credibility or authenticity of the various books; and if, now and then, a more "advanced" critic appeared, he was soon reduced to silence by the public opinion of his time, if in no other way. So that the function of the writer, treating the sacred books "*quod* human documents," resolved itself simply into establishing the authenticity and confirming the veracity of the books of Scripture by arguments handed down from writer to writer, and the cogency of which no one was found to question. In such a state of things no inconvenience was likely to arise from the double relation in which the Bible stands to the Church.

But a difficulty and a danger at once arise, if, or when, the conclusions of theology and the conclusions of science relative to the sacred books do not seem to agree. For truth cannot be opposed to truth. No one can consistently hold contradictory propositions. Thus, who would not reprobate the attitude of mind attributed—quite unjustly, it would seem—by Sir James Stephen to Cardinal Newman, when speaking of certain persons who have a double standard of truth?

This state of mind is perhaps best illustrated by a saying ascribed, justly or otherwise, to Cardinal Newman in one of his sermons at Oxford: "In science the earth goes round the sun, in theology the sun goes round the earth."*

* Cf. *Nineteenth Century*, 1887, p. 884. The article is by the Bishop of Car-

And who would not regard it as intolerable to be compelled to say: "As a theologian I hold the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; but as a scientific and critical interpreter I am convinced that the five books of the law came into existence long after Moses' time; that they are in fact the growth of centuries?"

Now the question arises, is there any danger, in these days, of antagonism between the propositions of theology and the results of science relative to the sacred books? Undoubtedly, outside the Church, where the teaching of theology is of a very unstable character and the authority of dogma is almost entirely discredited, such a danger is greatly apprehended. The following extracts from Alexandre Westphal, a promising French scholar, may perhaps be taken as embodying a very widespread impression on the subject: *

Peu à peu l'abîme s'est creusé entre le catéchisme du temple et la théologie de l'école. Le jour vient où deux Bibles seront en présence, la Bible du fidèle et la Bible du savant. Ce jour-là le choc se produira violent; car le réveil des troupeaux sera un réveil d'indignation, et nul ne peut prévoir ce que deviendrait la foi dans cette révolte des consciences.

And again:

Le moment est venu de profiter des leçons du passé. Témoignons généreusement notre reconnaissance à ceux qui, sans avoir les privilèges de la foi, ont consacré leur vie et leur savoir à l'étude des documents de la foi. Emparons-nous de leurs découvertes; transformons notre théologie de façon à faire cesser l'incompatibilité introduite par les hommes entre la Bible telle que l'a faite la science et la Bible telle que la veut la foi.

But it may further be said, that it would be hard to reconcile the more extreme views once held so generally within the Church by theologians, and still defended by a few, as to authorship and extent of inspiration in Sacred Scripture, with what are now coming to be recognised as the

lisle, and he takes advantage of Justice Stephen's illustration to make some very uncalled-for remarks about the Cardinal. What the Cardinal really said was: "Scripture says the sun moves and the earth is stationary; and science that the earth moves and the sun is comparatively at rest. How can we determine which of these opposite statements is the very truth till we know what motion is?" (*cf. loc. cit.*).

* "Les Sources du Pentateuch," vol. i. pp. i. xi.

fairly well ascertained results of modern scholarship. Nor is it easy to see the wisdom of publishing in these days such a book as that of Father Brucker,* wherein the author expresses his strong disapproval of views on the deluge,† left open by such a competent and conservative scholar as Father Hummelauer, S.J.;‡ and wherein also, it would seem, an attempt is made to counteract the good impression produced§ by the liberal views expressed by the Holy Father, in the recent encyclical on Holy Scripture, relative to the scientific references occurring in the sacred text.

Indeed, it is hard enough for the Catholic student sometimes—no matter what his views may be—to bring together the teaching of theology and that of the more weighty of the Biblical critics. The late Professor Huxley says in one place ||: “There is no living Biblical scholar who can ignore authorities of the rank of Reuss and Wellhausen, of Robertson Smith and Kuenen without gross presumption; I might even say, without raising a serious doubt of his scientific integrity.” These words are offensively put; and if the Professor wishes to imply by “not ignoring” that Biblical scholars are to be “led” by such men as these, no Catholic student is likely to escape his rebuke. But if he means simply what he says, then it will readily be admitted that these men, and others of the same class, have thrown light upon many important points of Holy Writ. Moreover, it will be admitted that there has been a growing moderation and religiousness of tone observable in the writings of critics within recent years, and a tendency to discredit extreme views, which bodes well for the future; which, in fact, leaves room to hope that, before very long, the Catholic theologian will find in the refined conclusions of criticism very little that is inconsistent with the teaching of the Church.

Now here it is important to note that a distinction may legitimately be drawn between the doctrine of the Church and the teachings of theologians on many questions connected with Sacred Scripture. For even of the Fathers the Pope says: “It

* “Questions actuelles d'Écriture Sainte.”

† Chapter, “L'Universalité du Déluge,” pp. 255–314.

‡ “Genesis,” pp. 223–256.

§ “Questions actuelles,” pp. 99, *et seq.*

|| “Hebrew Tradition,” p. 12.

may be that, in commenting on passages where physical matters occur, they have sometimes expressed the ideas of their own times, and thus made statements which in these days have been abandoned as incorrect.”* If such was the case with the Fathers of the Church, it is not surprising to find that theologians and others have not unfrequently lapsed into error when dealing with similar questions. Thus, in Galileo’s time Catholics were shocked to find a man maintaining that the earth is not the centre of the world; and, more recently, theologians looked with suspicion upon those who held the non-universality of the deluge. So, too, it is only of late that any Catholic has ventured to question the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, in its present form. In all these things science and history have led the way, in face of a certain kind of consensus of Catholic opinion. And as science and history in the past, whilst never subverting the Church’s doctrine, have led the way in many things to a better understanding of the sacred Text, so, doubtless, they are now doing a good work in the same direction, and are helping on that gradual approximation of views between criticism and theology which is still more largely due to the abatement of the exorbitant demands at one time made by the advocates of science and criticism.

Having laid down the two-fold relation in which the Bible stands to the Church of God, Baron Von Hügel proceeds to discuss the present position of Bible study as it affects the Bible “*quâ* human document.” Most of the first and second articles are taken up with that subject. Then, in the third article, he treats of the Bible “*quâ* Divine Library, re-given to us as such” by the Church. Here it will be convenient, following the same order, to consider briefly (1) the general position of Biblical study in relation to criticism; then more particularly the study of the (2) Pentateuch, the (3) Prophets and the (4) Gospels; and finally (5) to notice certain questions intimately connected with the Bible, “*quâ* Divine Library, re-given to us as such” by the Church.

* “Encyc.” p. 24.

I.

It would be worse than idle to shut our eyes to the fact [the Baron writes*] that the critical work of the last hundred years or more, whilst often rationalist and reckless, has not been, fortunately, altogether in vain, but has gradually settled down into soberer methods. Indeed, the storm and stress have left, as sediment, a certain number of conclusions which can only be escaped by denying altogether that restricted and preliminary right of reason in these matters, which the Church has ever upheld against the various forms of Fideism, or, again, by denying the special character of all historical evidence, which of its very nature is but cumulative and probable.

1. Critical methods have certainly sobered down very materially, if account be taken of the researches of such men as Reimarus, Nicolai, and Bahrdt, in the last century; but can the same thing be said in relation to the history of the critical movement, properly so called; beginning perhaps with Richard Simon, the Oratorian, or, at any rate, with the French physician, John Astruc? May it not rather be said that the spirit and method have been always the same—viz., to bring to the consideration of the Sacred Scriptures and Bible history such principles as are applied to the ancient classics and history?—

The spirit and method [writes a learned author†] which used to be called "German," but which are simply the spirit and method of criticism as such, and the very spirit and method long familiar to English scholars when applied to the history of Greece or Rome.

2. It is true there is now far less room left for the imagination and inventive faculty of the critic than was the case sixty or one hundred years ago. But this is due, not to any change of method, but to the growth of knowledge. Biblical criticism is a science which has now been threshed out for a century or more, and during that period a vast quantity of chaff has been separated from the grain and rejected as useless. But doubtless the process will have to continue for many a year before perfect reliance can be placed upon the results of the critics. Indeed, if account be taken only of "sane" scholarship, it may be doubted whether at any time critics were less sober than at the present day.

* Article ii. p. 9.

† "The Documents of the Hexateuch," pp. xlii.

It is true [writes the author quoted above*] among the multitude of writers who have taken the matter in hand, a certain allowance must be made here, as in every other subject-matter, for mere extravagance which has perished in the birth, or which has had its day and been forgotten ;

but it must be borne in mind that there are wild theories and reckless critics to the fore, even in these days.

3. There has been, however, undoubtedly a more reverential tone pervading the writings of critics—chiefly English-speaking—within the last few years, which is certainly promising for the future. Nothing on this head is to be desired in the writings of such men as Driver, Kirkpatrick, and the late Robertson Smith. But to what is this increased reverence in tone due? Is it to any change on the part of criticism? It would seem not; but to a movement on the side of conservative scholarship and of Christian scholars, not only in England and America, but throughout the continent of Europe. In fact, the overwhelming majority of Christian scholars outside the Church have taken up the teaching of criticism, and have taken with them into the critical camp that reverential spirit towards the Bible which must naturally actuate every Christian. Mrs. Humphry Ward gives a very forcible account of the state of the case, as far as England is concerned, in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1889. She shows how, thirty years ago, *Essays and Reviews* was prosecuted in two ecclesiastical courts, and how Colenso was condemned by all the bishops and four-fifths of Convocation. Yet at the Church Congress held in Manchester (1888) “the distinctive note of its most distinctive debate, as it seems to me, was the glorification of ‘criticism,’ especially, no doubt, in relation to the Old Testament.” †

And what is her explanation of the change :

We are passing out of the scientific phase of Old Testament criticism [she writes ‡] that has, so to speak, done its work. It is the *literary and historical* phase which is now uppermost. And in the matter of the literary history of the Old Testament, the present collapse of English orthodoxy is due to one cause, as far as I can see, and one cause only—the *invasion of English by German thought*. Instead of marching side by side with Germany and Holland during the last thirty years, as we might have done had our theological faculties been other than what they are, we have been attacked and conquered by them ; we have been skir-

* *Loc. cit.* p. xxiii.

† P. 463.

‡ P. 465.

mishing or protesting, feeding ourselves with the *Record* or the *Church Times*, reading the "Speaker's Commentary," or the productions of the Christian Evidence Society, till the process of penetration from without has slowly completed itself, and we find ourselves suddenly face to face with such a fact as this Church Congress debate, and the rise and marked success of a younger school of critics—Cheyne, Driver, Robertson Smith—whom the Germans may fairly regard as the captives of their sword and spear.

II.

1. It seems hard to doubt that the main outlines of critical opinion respecting the Hexateuch now present themselves to the mind supported by a weight of evidence not easy to reject consistently with the natural rights of reason. As Baron von Hügel says :

The storm and stress have left, as sediment, a certain number of conclusions which can only be escaped by denying altogether that restricted and preliminary right of reason in these matters which the Church has ever upheld against the various forms of Fideism, or again, by denying the special character of all historical evidence.*

And again, Dr. Driver : †

It is impossible to doubt that the main conclusions of critics with reference to the authorship of the books of the Old Testament rest upon reasonings the cogency of which cannot be denied without denying the ordinary principles by which history is judged and evidence estimated.

2. These conclusions rest not merely upon the internal analysis of the Hexateuchal books themselves, but also upon a careful study of the history of Israel. By internal examination of the Hexateuch itself, distinct strata are seen to pervade it, ‡ strata which differ not merely in style but in modes of thought, in greater or less elaborateness and complexity of ideas, and in the more or less highly organised state of society presupposed by the legislation. A study of the history of Israel seems to point to an apparent disregard of the legislation contained in what are, on independent grounds, conceived to be the later strata of the Hexateuch, hardly consistent with the existence of that legislation, in its present form, in early

* Article ii. p. 9.

† "Literature of the Old Testament," p. 14.

‡ For Genesis, cf. Hummelauer, pp. 14-39.

days. Thus, whilst it may be said that Chronicles, and indeed Ezra and Nehemiah, "presuppose the Hexateuch in its present form," apparently Judges, Samuel, and Kings evince no acquaintance with P., that is, with the latest stratum of the Hexateuch.* So, too, of the Prophets: whilst Daniel and Malachi show an actual knowledge of the Hexateuch in its present form, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and a majority of the minor prophets were apparently written in the light of the oldest (*i.e.*, the prophetic) stratum of the Hexateuch, and of Deuteronomy; whereas Micah, Isaiah, Amos, and Hosea do not even seem to be based on the Deuteronomic stratum.†

3. Even those who have not had the leisure to study the question for themselves cannot fail to be struck with the important consensus of opinion in favour of the more general conclusions of criticism relative to the Hexateuch, and with the new light which these conclusions throw upon the history of God's dealing with Israel: teaching us, as they do, that in the books of the Law, the writings of the Prophets and the historical books is manifested the gradual growth and development of religion and revelation among the Israelites—a development which only finds its completion in the teaching of Jesus Christ, in the New Testament Scriptures, and in the foundation of the Church. Nor is the consensus of opinion less remarkable. It must, indeed, be admitted that—putting aside deistic and rationalistic critics, who are not likely to have much influence on the Catholic student—an ever-increasing number of Christian scholars (almost every cultured scholar outside the Church, and not a few within) subscribe and support the more moderate results of critics on the point—many after having long held out against them. Thus, Professor Kirkpatrick, a thoroughly competent and reverent writer, says of the composite character of the Hexateuch: "Modern criticism claims, and claims with justice, to have proved that it is so;"‡ and Professor Sayce, in a book written in defence of the Old Testament, says§ :

In the literary analysis of the Old Testament, certain general results

* Kuenen, "Hexateuch," pp. 186-190.

† *Ibid. loc cit.* pp. 174-186.

‡ "Divine Library of the Old Testament," p. 41.

§ "The Higher Criticism and the Monuments," p. 10.

have been arrived at, about which critics of the most various schools are agreed, and if in details there is still room for doubt and disputation, this is only what might be expected.

4. Now even in this matter of the date and development of the law* [writes Baron von Hügel], and of its literary registration, the Pentateuch, the position is greatly improved for the apologist compared with a century ago.

In one respect, certainly, the position is far more satisfactory. The apologist may now feel assured that bottom has been reached, and that wild theories are at an end, at least so far as any prospect of their adoption is concerned. Doubtless, too, a more consistent explanation of the growth of the law is now possible than was the case at any earlier period in the history of the critical movement. But can it be maintained that the dates now assigned to the different parts of the Hexateuch are favourable to the apologist, "as compared with a century ago?" At that date, Eichhorn may perhaps be taken as the exponent of "sane" criticism. Now he held that the Elohist and Jehovistic documents, of which he thought the early history to be made up, "were combined as they now stand at the end of the Mosaic age, or soon afterwards," and that "the four later books of Moses grew out of separate writings of Moses and some of his contemporaries."† Dr. Geddes, writing about the same time, says:‡

From intrinsic evidence three things seem to me indubitable: 1. The Pentateuch in its present form was not written by Moses; 2. It was written in the land of Canaan, and probably at Jerusalem; 3. It could not be written before the time of David, nor after that of Hezekiah.

Writing early in this century, De Wette considered Deuteronomy, then held to be the latest book of the Pentateuch, to be earlier than 621 B.C. (Beiträge); and the author of the "Priestly Code" he assigns to the year 970 B.C. In the very first page of his introduction to the "Hexateuch," Kuenen shows that twenty-five years earlier unanimity seemed to have been reached upon several points, one of which was the following: "The Deuteronomist, a contemporary of Manasseh

* Article ii. p. 11.

† Cheyne, "Founders of Old Testament Criticism," p. 24. Cf. Westphal, *loc. cit.*, pp. 121-124.

‡ "Translation of the Bible," preface.

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or Josiah, was the redactor of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, and it was he who brought them into the form in which they now lie before us." * From these references it will appear that up to five-and-twenty or thirty years ago the final redaction of the Hexateuch had not been brought down lower than the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. Now the theory is that the earlier prophetic narratives belong, roughly speaking, to the eighth century B.C.; Deuteronomy to the age of Manasseh or Josiah; the Priestly Code to the years following the captivity; and that "before the end of the fifth century, the Sopherim had produced the Hexateuch,"† practically in its present form.

5. It is quite possible, however, that Baron von Hügel does not refer to any *general* improvement in respect to the age of the Law, but only to improvement in the specific points which he mentions below, viz. (1) as to the historical existence and importance of Moses; and (2) as to the fact that "Moses could write, did write, and we still possess some of his writings."‡

(1) To show the first point, the Baron quotes some extravagant remarks of Voltaire as to the existence of Moses, and then the scientific deductions of Wellhausen, Montefiore and Professor Driver. The contrast is striking. In the previous paragraph he had, in giving a list of authorities, deliberately passed by "on the left, the brilliant but second-hand and quite arbitrary Renan, and the equally brilliant, untenable destructions of Maurice Verne and Ernest Havet." An admirable decision. But would it not have been well to include Voltaire in the list? Either to have quoted him, and against him such men as Renan, Havet, and the rest; or else to have pitted against modern scholars the conclusions of Eichhorn, Ilgen and such men, who clearly did not disbelieve in the existence of Moses.

(2) On the second point; though from the teaching of critics at the end of the last century and the beginning of this it would seem that they held that Moses could write, did write, and that we possess some of his writing; still, un-

* Kuenen, "Hexateuch," p. 1.

† *Ibid.* p. 314.

‡ Article ii. pp. 11, 12.

doubtedly immense light has been thrown, by recent archaeological discovery, on the early date of writing in the East; and not merely in Egypt and Babylonia, but in Syria and in Palestine too. No one can any longer question the possibility of Moses being able to write. In fact, as Professor Sayce says :*

We now know that the Mosaic age in the East was a highly literary one, as literary, in fact, as the age of the Renaissance in Europe, and that it would have been a miracle if the Israelites, whether in Egypt or in Canaan, had not shared in the general literary culture of the time.

It is, moreover, generally admitted by the most hostile critics, that, at the very least, Moses played a most important part, as laying the foundation of the law of Israel; though Dr. Driver does not seem to attach much importance to the presence of any actual writing of his in the Pentateuch.

That written records *may* underlie the narratives of the Pentateuch cannot possibly be denied† [he writes]; indeed, in some cases, such records are expressly referred to (Numbers xxi. 24); and, in other cases (*e.g.*, in the list of the kings of Edom, Genesis, xxxvi., and in the laws, Exodus xxi-xxiii.) their existence is highly probable. As a general rule, however, their existence and character must remain a matter of pure speculation; and upon a mere abstract possibility no historical conclusions of any value can be based.

III.

Though, no doubt, the opinions of sceptical critics, relative to the prophets and prophecy, are quite irreconcilable with Catholic doctrine; still it may be said that between the conclusions of criticism, properly so called, and of Catholic scholars there is not such a wide divergence on this subject as on most subjects connected with the Sacred Books. More than that, the position seems to improve as time goes on, and the "points of difference" "to be getting more clearly defined and limited."‡

1. There is, however, one great difference between the majority of Catholic scholars and the critical school, in refer-

* "Church Congress Scripture Debate," *Times*, October 10, 1895.

† *Contemporary Review*, March, 1894, p. 412.

‡ B. von Hügel, article ii. p. 18.

ence to the prophets, arising from the attitude they respectively take up on the question of the Hexateuch. Wellhausen is well entitled to speak for the critical school on the subject :

It is not unnatural * [he says], from the chronological order in which these writings were received into the Canon, to proceed to an inference as to their approximate relative age, and so not only to place the prophets before the Hagiographa, but also the five books of Moses before the Prophets. If the Prophets are for the most part older than the exile, how much more so the Law ! But however trustworthy such a mode of comparison may be when applied to the middle as contrasted with the latest portion of the Canon, it is not at all to be relied on when the first part is contrasted with the other two.

Kuenen, too, another first-rate authority, writes : †

A Mosaic law-book, rendered venerable by its origin and its high antiquity, and itself laying claim to a quite exceptional authority, must have been constantly cited and upheld against the people by any teachers who recognised it. But there is not a trace to be found in our Prophets of the 'it is written' style :

the conclusion being, of course, that the Prophets knew of no such law.‡ The standpoint of ordinary Catholic scholarship is quite different. "The teaching of the prophetic books" writes Father Maas,§ "is, therefore, as has been said, midway between the Law and the Gospel;" and Father Cornely:|| "The Prophets were appointed by God, for the children of Israel, supreme and authentic masters, to preserve, explain and perfect the covenant given by God to Moses." The importance of the difference between the two schools is obvious. Was the Pentateuch, as we now have it, in existence when Elias, and Amos, and Isaiah and Jeremiah lived and held the prophetic office? Or is the Hexateuch the outcome of a growth, beginning in the eighth century B.C., and developing *pari passu* with the prophetic teaching? Upon the answer to that question must necessarily depend the opinion which one forms upon many and important passages in the history of Israel.

2. As to the way in which the writings of the Prophets

* "History of Israel," p. 2.

† "Hexateuch," p. 176.

§ "Christ in Type and Prophecy," p. 142.

|| "Introductionis Compendium," p. 364.

‡ Cf. *loc. cit.*, p. 192.

came into existence, there is certainly very considerable agreement between Catholic and critical authors.

The most conservative Catholic writers admit that the prophetic books contain but an epitome of the teaching of the Prophets ; that, in the case of most of the prophets, they were not written till towards the end of their lives ; and that

in setting forth and arranging their previous discourses they used a certain amount of liberty, and, in accordance with a fixed plan, inserted and added certain additional matter, which had not been included in their *vivâ voce* pronouncements.*

So, too, Maas : †

Jeremiah, *e.g.*, testifies that he received the command to write all that the Lord had spoken to him from the days of King Josiah even to this day (xxxvi. 2) ; still, it is quite clear, that he cannot have literally committed to writing all his public instructions delivered during the space of twenty-three years.

The same may be said in the case of Isaiah and the minor prophets.

Baron von Hügel points ‡ to Cardinal Newman, the Abbé Loisy and Father van den Biesen, as admitting a Deutero-Isaiah ; and to the Abbé Loisy as favouring a late date for Daniel. Nor is there any doubt that among Catholics the general feeling now is, that it is not of much consequence who wrote these prophecies, provided the authorship attributed to them be not inconsistent with their inspiration. Indeed, if it be conceded that Isaiah only collected his prophecies (which had been delivered during a period of nearly half a century) towards the end of his life, it is not a long step to admit that certain additions may have been made to the collection by his disciples after his death.

3. Baron von Hügel illustrates § by a wealth of quotation which is almost redundant what “the critics are coming to admit and to proclaim” “as to the whole subject of the Prophets and Prophecy,” and what “Catholic scholars are coming to reaffirm” on the same subject. There is some indefiniteness about these phrases, which perhaps in the short

* Cornely, *loc. cit.*, p. 369.

† Article ii. p. 18.

‡ *Loc. cit.*, p. 145.

§ Article ii. pp. 19-29.

compass of a review article it was not easy for the author to avoid. Two remarks may, however, be made on this part of the subject.

(a) The quotations which the Baron makes will convince the reader that critics now proclaim "the unique grandeur and universal importance of the Prophets."* Indeed, of late, an immense literature has come into being, treating of the theological value of the Old Testament, especially the Prophets; and owing its origin largely to the great influx of Christian scholars into the critical camp. No one will deny the importance of this interest displayed in the spiritual significance of Old Testament prophecy. It would not, however, be just to imagine that critics of an earlier day were not alive to it; though, doubtless, they devoted more attention to the critical examination of the prophetical writings.

(β) In the same way, it would be a mistake to suppose that Catholic scholars are only now finding out "the variety and fulness of the prophet's vocation;"† and Baron von Hügel accordingly speaks of Catholics coming to "reaffirm" such conclusions. For they form nothing more than ordinary Catholic teaching as to the prophetical office. Thus, Cornelius à Lapide lays down a three-fold prophetical duty,‡ viz. (1) to teach the people what to believe and what to do; (2) "to preach;" and (3) "to foretell the future." And Ubaldi is but resuming the usual teaching of Catholics, when he writes:§

We read that they (*i.e.* the Prophets) had much to do with the rooting out of abuses, the correction of wicked kings, and bringing them to a better state of mind; often with waging war and transacting political business connected with the preservation and prosperity of the chosen people.

IV.

Dealing with the question of the Gospels, Baron von Hügel writes that, "the position of affairs is remarkably improved for the apologist, as compared with fifty years ago;"|| and he points to Dr. Holtzmann as regarding the years 69-96 as

* Article ii. p. 19.

† "Commentaries," vol. xi. p. 62, *et seq.*

§ "Introductio," vol. ii. p. 416.

† *Loc. cit.*, p. 25.

|| Article i. p. 20.

the normal ones for SS. Mark and Matthew; 96–117 for St. Luke, and admitting almost the traditional date for St. John. Indeed the tendency of New Testament criticism generally, from the time of Baur, has been decidedly favourable to the apologist; and though the space dividing the critic from the apologist is still wide, it becomes sensibly diminished as time goes on.

1. It is a matter of indifference to Catholics, whether the synoptical question be settled by the utilisation theory, the documentary hypothesis, oral tradition, or by combination of two or more of these methods. Indeed, though no doubt the majority of Catholic writers favour the system of oral tradition, still such representative names as Patrizzi, Coleridge, Schanz, Bacuez, Maier and Langen lend their sanction to the hypothesis of mutual dependence. Nor does it seem commendable to suggest, as Father Cornely does, that the document theory, whether in the form of a primitive gospel of many editions (Eichhorn), or as supposing the existence of a large number of Greek and Aramaic fragments, containing separately accounts of the discourses, miracles, and parables of Our Lord (Schleiermacher) “seems unworthy of an inspired writer. For who can picture to himself the Evangelists, with four or five volumes in Aramaic and Greek before them, now inspecting one, now another, then a third and fourth, and copying from them?” * Few, if any, in these days adopt such an explanation. But why endeavour to refute them by the aid of anathema? For it does not seem to be any more contrary to inspiration for the Evangelists to act in this way, than for the Authors of Judges and Samuel and Kings to have freely used written sources.† Still less does it seem fair to suggest of the theory of mutual dependence: “Nescio an dignitati Evangelistarum satis consulat.” ‡ Dr Salmon has some very pertinent remarks on this subject.” §

There are some who think that they are entitled to reject without examination both the first and the second of the solutions I have stated, because they cannot believe that if a story of Our Lord's life had been

* Cornely, “*Introductio*,” vol. iii. p. 178.

† *Ibid.* pp. 231, 243, &c.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. iii. *loc. cit.*

§ “*Introduction*,” p. 130.

once written down by an inspired hand any subsequent writer who knew of it would permit himself to vary from it in the slightest degree; while they do not find the same difficulty in conceiving that variations may have been introduced into the narrative in the process of oral transmission before it was written down. For myself, I see no *a priori* reason for preferring one account of the matter to the other. If we had had to speculate beforehand on the way in which it was likely God would have provided an inspired record of the life of His Son upon this earth, we should not have guessed that there would be four different narratives presenting certain variations among themselves. But we know, as a matter of fact, that He has not seen fit to secure uniformity of statement between the sacred writers. . . . I content myself with the matter of fact that God has permitted that there should be variations between the Gospels; and if He did not choose to prevent them by miraculously guarding the memory of those who reported the narratives before they were written down, I know no greater reason for His interfering miraculously for a similar purpose on the supposition that the Evangelists used written documents.

2. Dr. Holtzmann, it will be observed,* is disposed to dispense with the so-called Proto-Mark, in the solution of the synoptic problem, so that Catholics have now only to deal with the Aramaic original of St. Matthew, in addition to the three Synoptics. And they, on their part, are evidently showing themselves ready to admit that considerable differences may exist between the Aramaic original of St. Matthew and the actual Greek edition of that Gospel.† As to the order in which the Evangelists wrote, Catholics are wedded to no special theory,‡ so that no dogmatic objection can be taken to the priority of St. Mark or to his dependence upon the Aramaic original of St. Matthew.

3. Nothing can show more clearly the collapse of the extreme views of Baur and his school, as to the dates of the Gospels, than the words of Renan—a man who was entirely free from theological bias :

On the whole, I admit § [he writes], as authentic the four Canonical Gospels. All, in my opinion, date from the first century, and the authors are, generally speaking, those to whom they are attributed.

As to the mode of composition also, his words are important :

* B. von Hügel, p. 23.

† Cf. v. Hügel, vol. i. pp. 24–25.

‡ Cornely, vol. iii. p. 179.

§ “Life of Jesus,” p. 21.

On the whole we may say that the synoptic compilation has passed through three stages: first, the original documentary state (λόγια of Matthew, λεχθέντα ἡ πραχθέντα of Mark), primary compilations which no longer exist; secondly, the stage of synoptic mixture, in which the original documents are amalgamated without any effort at composition, without there appearing any personal bias of the authors (the existing Gospels of Matthew and Mark); thirdly, the state of combination, or of intentional and deliberate compiling, in which we are sensible of an attempt to reconcile the different versions (Gospel of Luke). The Gospel of John, as we have said, forms a compilation of another order, and is entirely distinct.*

Every Catholic will look with distrust upon Ernest Renan. Still his words are an acknowledgment of the advance of the conservative position. Already, since he wrote, the Proto-Mark has been, one may say, abandoned. And then as to the very passage quoted, who will care to deny that Mark, the spokesman of Peter, and Matthew the Apostle represent the earlier and simpler Gospel narrative? Luke, the polished Greek writer, the disciple of Paul the later convert, is admitted by all to have compiled a more elaborate work. The Gospel of John stands apart from the synoptists, and, according to Catholic tradition, had a theological end in view.†

4. It is over the historical value of the Gospels that the apologist and the critic are most seriously at issue. It is true Dr. Holtzmann admits that persons go too far who say that "an historical interest was not, or was hardly, a part cause in the composition of the Gospels," and admits, at least of the synoptists, that, "they contain as their kernel nothing else than the genuine and, in its chief features, easily recognisable picture of Jesus of Nazareth."‡

This is not a large concession, especially when we know that Dr. Holtzmann entirely rejects the miraculous in the life of Christ.§ In fact, it is hardly more than is made by Renan, when he says: "They (the Gospels) are neither biographies after the manner of Suetonius, nor fictitious legends in the style of Philostratus; they are legendary biographies." Indeed, though it is not easy to get a positive statement in the

* "Vie de Jésus," p. 22.

† Cornely, vol. iii. pp. 238-247.

‡ v. Hügel, article i. p. 22.

§ Cf. Knabenbauer, "St. Matthew," vol. i. p. 7.

|| "Vie de Jésus," p. 25.

negative criticism of Strauss, still, prescinding from St. John, as Dr. Holtzmann does, and allowing for the supernatural element, it would not be going too far to say that he admitted a kernel of truth in the Evangelists, especially St. Matthew.*

It is, however, satisfactory to find a definite admission as to the existence of an historical "kernel" in the synoptists, in the writings of such an "advanced" critic as Dr. Holtzmann. Indeed, such an admission may be regarded as a criterion of the improved position in which the Gospels now stand in face of criticism, owing largely to the advance of historical research and to the light thrown upon the New Testament by the discovery of ancient texts.

V.

So far the remarks of this paper have been addressed to the consideration of the Bible, *quâ* collection of human documents; it will now be necessary, in this last section, to discuss certain aspects of the Bible question in which the Bible is treated as a Divine Library, received as such from the Church. Many topics suggest themselves for notice. Three only, as being the most important, have been selected for consideration.

1. In Baron von Hügel's treatment of the Canon † will be found a very fair and impartial estimate of the present position of the question. No evidence is necessary to show that, from the time of Luther, a bitter controversy has raged between Catholic and Protestant writers on the subject of the Canon, and that the controversy has turned upon the canonicity or non-canonicity of the Apocrypha, or Deutero-canonical books. Indeed, during the last half-century and up to a few years ago the ardour of the conflict showed no signs of abating. Thus, in the year 1860 Dr. Angus wrote as follows in a well-known work, "The Bible Handbook." ‡

If we examine by these tests the books called apocryphal, we shall be constrained to reject their authority as Divine. *Externally* the evidence is conclusive. *Internal* evidence, moreover, is against their inspiration. Divine authority is claimed by none of the writers, and by

* "New Life of Jesus," vol. i. pp. 150-183.

† Article iii. pp. 284-292.

‡ Pp. 79-80.

some it is virtually disowned. The books contain statements at variance with history, self-contradictory, and opposed to the doctrines and precepts of Scripture.

And again, Dr. Salmon, only a few years ago, in his "General Introduction to the Apocrypha": *

Some of the books of the Apocrypha are plainly indefensible by any one who holds any high theory of inspiration.

If the books of the Apocrypha are to be called sacred and canonical, it can only be by maintaining that these epithets can be bestowed on books full of blunders and false conceptions, which the early Church would have thought it scandalous to attribute to any books which they regarded as inspired.

From these quotations, it will be seen that, even up to quite recent times, the use of strong language as to the canonicity of the deuterocanonical books had not been abandoned by Protestant writers. But there are signs of a change. Dr. Sanday's words, in the reprint of his Bampton Lectures,[†] and quoted by Baron von Hügel, are full of promise, as showing the opinion held on the subject by one of the foremost Biblical scholars of the day. "I confess that the Roman definitions on this head," he says, "do not seem to be irreconcilable with fact and history, or to be such as need divide Churches." It is only fair to say here, that to the two volumes of the Abbé Loisy on the canons of the Old and New Testament, Dr. Sanday's moderation of tone seems largely due, and that he writes of this work in the volume cited above (p. 276)—"His whole book is written with conspicuous lucidity and moderation, and well deserves to be studied."

2. On the subject of Inspiration, the two following points are well worthy of consideration.

(a) *The Formal Decrees of Councils*.—It is a significant fact, that the Church has never varied much in her statements as to the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, but has confined herself to defining the truth embodied in the profession of faith prescribed by the fourth council of Carthage for the consecration of bishops, and still in use in the Church. "Credis etiam Novi et Veteris Testamenti, Legis, Prophetarum

* Edited by Dr. Wace, vol. i. p. xxxiv.

† "Inspiration," p. 275.

et Apostolorum, unum esse auctorem, Deum et Dominum Omnipotentem? Credo." The same formula was proposed by Innocent III. to the Waldenses (1215); by Clement IV. to Michael Palæologus (1264); and afterwards addressed by that Emperor to the second council of Lyons (1274). Finally it was embodied by the Councils of Florence, Trent and the Vatican in their decrees. And if the Vatican Council made an addition to the words of Florence and Trent, it was only for the purpose of safeguarding the proposition—misunderstood in some quarters—that "God is the author of the Sacred Scriptures." Hence she explained that they are sacred and canonical, not "because they were composed by mere human industry, and then approved by her authority; nor because they contain revelation without error." *

This uniformity of teaching will appear the more remarkable when one remembers that it was maintained through a long course of centuries, and amidst far-reaching variations of feeling and opinion as to the nature and scope of Inspiration. The fourth Council of Carthage was held under the influence of St. Augustine and his school; and St. Augustine is generally credited with having held a very strict view as to Inspiration. But none of his opinions found their way into the decrees of the Councils of the African Church that were held in his time.

Then again the Council of Trent was held, when, as Ubaldi testifies,† Protestants

not only admitted the Inspiration of Scripture, but defended a very strict theory regarding it, viz., that not only are the ideas inspired throughout, but that the very words, style and points are to be referred to the Holy Ghost.

Indeed, even among Catholics the same views seem to have largely prevailed.‡ But the Council was not influenced by the state of things existing around it. No addition was made to the defined doctrine of the Church on Inspiration. The Fathers were content with defining that God is the Author of both Testaments.

* Sess. iii. const. dogm. de Fide Cath. Cap. ii. de Rev.

† "Introductio," vol. ii. p. 16.

‡ Ubaldi, *loc. cit.* p. 18.

Last of all comes the Vatican Council, in the midst of rationalism and the higher criticism. The narrow views of the early reformers have now given way to the loose doctrines of the Broad Church. The discoveries of science and history have begun to unsettle the minds of many timorous Christians. The attention of the bishops in council is turned to the Inspiration of Scripture. The outcome is the same:—God is the author of Sacred Scripture.

(β). *Development.*—Though the doctrine of the Church has thus remained unaltered during the centuries, the theory of development seems to apply to the explanation of it. Time, experience, contact with hostile criticism, deeper study, and the revelations of science and history, bring out more clearly, year by year, what is exactly the meaning of the doctrine “God is the author of Sacred Scripture.” In his study of “the incomprehensibility and ineffability of God for all but Himself,” and the constant tendency of knowledge, in every branch, to grow, Baron von Hügel uses the words : *

“Some such tardy and intermittent awakening, some such startling novelty, we shall then be prepared to find in Biblical science also, in so far as it has affinity with the natural and purely historical sciences, and is not occupied with the dogmatic or devotional facts and meaning of the Books; and this development of doctrine and dogma we shall expect to find in the Bible itself (p. 9).

Now it is clear that, in the writings of the early Fathers, there is a tendency to an ultra-strict view of Inspiration. Thus—to take only one instance—St. Irenæus says† that the Holy Ghost directed St. Matthew to write (i. 18), “the Generation of Christ” instead of “the Generation of Jesus.” So that, apparently, even in such cases he would consider the very selection of words to be the work of the Holy Ghost. Indeed, even in the sixteenth century and later, as has been seen, and even among Catholics, this spirit was still alive. Thus in the preamble to the sentence passed in Rome on Galileo (1633), it is stated that the theologians who had been appointed by the Holy Office as qualificators in the proceedings of 1615 and 1616 had reported, among other things, to the following effect :

* Article i. pp. 5-12.

† “Adv. Hær.” iii. 14, 2.

That the sun is the centre of the universe and immovable is a proposition absurd and false in philosophy, and formally heretical, as being expressly contrary to Sacred Scripture.

Hence the tribunal declares that "Galileo had made himself vehemently suspect of heresy, *i.e.*, of having believed and held a doctrine false and contrary to the Sacred and Divine Scriptures."^{*}

Things have advanced since those days. The doctrine of the Church has not altered; the responsible teaching of the schools is the same. But that floating opinion in the Church, which is liable to change, which is open to the light of science and history, and which so often appears in the pages of the Fathers, has developed: and its development is clearly marked in many parts of the eloquent and weighty Encyclical of Leo XIII., "On the Study of Sacred Scripture." The sacred writers, says the Holy Father, "did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time." Again: "they went by what sensibly appeared." Again, of history: "The principles here laid down will apply to the cognate sciences, and especially to history."[†] In these and other prudent yet significant words of Leo XIII., some idea may be gained of the development of opinion within the Church as to the meaning of Inspiration, since the days of the early Fathers, and even since the sixteenth century.

3. Perhaps the multiplicity of subjects to be dealt with made it impossible for Baron Von Hügel to refer to archæology; or, perhaps, with many modern scholars, he does not attach so much importance to the influence of that study upon the interpretation of the sacred books. Certainly he does point[‡] to "recent discoveries, especially the Diatessaron" of Tatian (1876, 1888), among other causes, as having "helped in various ways and degrees to re-confirm early dates for the composition of the Gospels as probable, indeed, in part, as necessary." To the

* Cf. *Cath. Dict.* art. "Galileo." Let it not be supposed that it was Catholics alone who so taught. Calvin exclaimed, "Who will venture to place the authority of Copernicus above that of the Holy Spirit?" And John Owen, the Puritan, "Newton's discoveries are against evident testimonies of Scripture."

† Pp. 24, 25.

‡ Article i. p. 20.

writer, the discoveries of archæology have had a greater restraining influence on the imagination of critics than either the progress of Semitic philology or the internal criticism of the text.

In the Encyclical the Pope makes some very wise remarks as to the neglect of history among the higher critics. The higher criticism, he says,* "pretends to judge of the origin, integrity, and authority of each book from internal indications alone." And again:

It is clear, on the other hand, that in historical questions, such as the origin and handing down of writings, the witness of history is of primary importance, and that historical investigation should be made with the greatest care, and that, in this matter, internal evidence is seldom of great value, except as confirmation.†

Now, even such an enthusiastic critic as Professor Cheyne admits that "until Schrader and Sayce arose, Old Testament critics did not pay much attention to Assyriology,"‡ and declares himself ready to subscribe the proposition that "some critics needed to be stirred up to greater zeal for archæology; that Kuenen, for instance, had not given enough attention to Assyriology, and that Wellhausen and Robertson Smith had in former years (like other Semitic scholars) displayed an excessive distrust of that study" (p. 235). What does that mean but neglect of history? And what do many of the concessions made by critics within the last few years show, but that the conclusions of criticism, when not controlled by history, are very often precarious in the extreme?

Professor Sayce does not, therefore, overstate the case when he says §: "The literary analyst cannot afford to neglect the help of historical evidence." And the following words of his deserve careful consideration:

The higher critic is also required to determine the authenticity or credibility of the historical narratives which the documents contain. For

* P. 23.

† The Pope, no doubt, refers to genuine historical evidence. For many Old Testament books none such exists to enable us to give accurately authorship or date—*e.g.*, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Chronicles (*cf.* Loisy, "Canon of New Testament," p. 256). In such cases it may be taken the Pope would not only sanction but commend the large use of internal evidence.

‡ "Founders of Old Testament Criticism," p. 234.

§ "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," p. 9.

this part of his work his documents will not suffice : he must compare their statements with those of other ancient records, and ascertain how far they are in accordance with the testimony derived from elsewhere. It is, in short, in his historical analysis that he is called upon to seek for external evidence, and if he neglect to do so he will be in danger of drawing conclusions from a "single instance." It is here that he must seek the aid of archæology, and test the results at which he may arrive by the testimony of the ancient monuments (p. 7).

It is only recently that the critics in general have begun to make serious use of archæology. Even still it is looked upon with suspicion by some * ; and it is clear that, though Dr. Driver calls Professor Sayce our "foremost English representative of archæology,"† it is not fashionable among critics to look with approval on the writings of that *savant*. Still archæology has already modified in many respects the more extreme conclusions of criticism ; and every year fresh discovery seems to add new confirmation to the narratives of the historical books of the Old Testament.

The Church of God has passed through many conflicts with error in her passage through the centuries. In childhood she was confronted with the horde of Gnostic delusions. Scarcely emerged from the darkness of persecution, she had to withstand the onset of Arianism and the family of errors arising from it. In the sixteenth century the doctrine of tradition was the subject of attack. Out of all these conflicts the Church arose stronger than when she entered the battle, with her doctrine clearer and more precise than it was before. She is now face to face with the false teaching of rationalism relative to the Sacred Scriptures. But it will pass away, discomfited, as the errors that have preceded it. The Church will rise superior to it all. And when the smoke of battle has cleared away, her children will have gained a more thorough and accurate appreciation of her doctrine on Sacred Scripture than was possible for their fathers in the far-off ages of Faith.

J. A. HOWLETT.

* Judges, by Moore, p. 84, *et seq.*

† "Archæology and the Higher Criticism," *Contemporary Review*, March, 1894, p. 415.

ART. IV.—ALEXANDER VI.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Mit Benutzung des päpstlichen Geheim-Archives und vieler anderer Archive bearbeitet von Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR. Dritter Band. Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance von der Wahl Innocenz' VIII. bis zum Tode Julius' II. Freiburg: Herder. 1895.

READERS of the two former instalments of Pastor's History of the Popes of the Renaissance have been eagerly looking forward to the appearance of the volume which would deal with the pontificate of Alexander VI. They have anticipated that the learned historian's labours in the secret Archives of the Vatican (now opened up by the high-minded liberality of Leo XIII.), could not fail to throw light on the story of that much-disputed period; and they have been confident that, while due weight would be given to all that could tell in favour of Alexander, nevertheless every compromising document would be honestly published and fearlessly commented upon. They will not be disappointed when they take up the volume which now lies before us. Dr. Pastor has had free access to all of Alexander's Bulls and Briefs which had been withheld from publication during the past three hundred years. He is also the first to make thorough use of the vast collections of ambassadorial communications preserved at Mantua, Modena, and Milan. With the modesty of a profound scholar, he does not claim to speak the last word on the Borgias; but he does not hesitate to say that henceforth all attempts to rehabilitate Alexander must be utterly hopeless.

In this age of revising the verdicts of history, it would have been strange if the Borgia family had not found enthusiastic advocates. Most modern students have long been convinced that the bitter partisan writers of the Renaissance—Infessura, Machiavelli, and Guicciardini—had overshot the mark in their accusations against Alexander and his children. The abominations set down as veritable history have staggered belief, and when critically examined have been found to rest upon the scantiest

evidence. Hence a reaction has come in. Olivier ("Le Pape Alexandre et les Borgia") maintained that Alexander's children were born in lawful wedlock before he took orders; while Leonetti ("Papa Alessandro VI.") went so far as to say that Alexander had no children at all, but only nephews. Though both these writers found some favour, it is noteworthy that their most damaging assailants have been Catholics. The great Jesuit periodical, *La Civiltà Cattolica* (March 15, 1873), from the first utterly scouted Olivier's contentions. Leonetti was refuted in a most learned article from the pen of Henri de l'Épinois, in "Questions Historiques" (1881), an article highly praised in *Le Controverse*. The Bollandist Matagne ("Quest. Hist." 1872), the great historian, von Reumont ("Freiburg. Kirchenlex.") and Hergenröther ("Kirchengeschichte, ii. p. 748), have been equally outspoken in their condemnation of these attempted defences. To this list the weighty authority of Dr. Pastor's name must now be added. The following article is based upon his researches. It is well to warn the reader that Alexander's story is truly a horrible one. But we have the highest authority bidding us remember that while the historian should never dare to say what is false, so he should never fear to say what is true.* If, on the other hand, some should find fault because the vices of the Pontiff are not here sufficiently denounced, I would answer:

E se non fosse ch'ancor lo mi vieta
 La riverenza delle somme chiavi,
 Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,
 I' userei parole ancor più gravi.†

The old Catalan race of the Borja, or Borgia, as the Italians pronounced the name, had produced many remarkable men, even before the days of the Renaissance. Nature had endowed them with beauty and strength, with intellectual ability, and a commanding energy of will.‡ At the time when the Church was rich and powerful, such a family would be certain to play

* "Enitendum magnopere ut omnia ementita et falsa, adeundis rerum fontibus refutentur; et illud in primis scribentium observetur animo, primam esse historiæ legem ne quid falsi dicere audeat: deinde ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis" (Leo XIII. "De Studiis Historicis," Aug. 18, 1883).

† "Inferno," xix. 100 *seq.*

‡ Gregorovius, "Lucr. Borgia," 3.

an important part and attain to the highest posts in her gift. Accordingly, we find in the early part of the fifteenth century, one of their number, Alonso (Alfonso), occupying the rich see of Valencia. His skill in diplomacy and his fidelity to Eugenius IV., gained for him a cardinal's hat (1444), and eleven years later he was chosen Pope, under the title of Calixtus III.* The great event of his pontificate was the signal defeat of the Turks at Belgrade (July 21-2, 1456). Unfortunately, his pontificate is also memorable for the scandalous excess to which he carried the baneful practice of nepotism. His Spanish relatives were very numerous, and some of them had come to Rome while he was still a Cardinal. They belonged chiefly to the allied families of Borgia, Mila, and Lanzol. Caterina Borgia, one of his sisters, was married to Juan Mila, Baron of Mazalanes, and was mother of young Luis Juan; another sister, Isabella, the wife of Jofré Lanzol, a nobleman possessed of property at Xativa, had two sons, Pedro Luis and Rodrigo. Luis Juan was made Bishop of Segorbe, Governor of Bologna, and soon afterwards Cardinal (1456). Pedro Luis, who remained a layman, was loaded with offices and honours. It is Pedro's brother Rodrigo whose career we are now to study.

Rodrigo Lanzol (or Lenzuoli, as the Italians called him) was born at Xativa, near Valencia, on January 1, 1431. His great talents early marked him out for the favour of his uncle, Cardinal Alfonso, who gave him, by adoption, his own family name of Borgia, and conferred many benefices upon him. When the Cardinal became Pope, the young Rodrigo was sent to Bologna to study law. In the secret Consistory of February 20, 1456, Calixtus created him a member of the Sacred College, although he was barely twenty-five years old. His bitterest enemies have, however, admitted his remarkable abilities. Thus, Guicciardini says that "in him were combined rare prudence and vigilance, mature reflection, marvellous power of persuasion, skill and capacity for the conduct of most difficult affairs." A few years after his nomination he is described by Gaspari di Verona as "handsome, of a pleasant look and honeyed tongue. He attracts ladies to love him, and draws

* Pastor, "*Gesch. der Päpste*," i. 535; Eng. trans. ii. 317 *seq.*; DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1892, p. 1.

them to himself more strongly than a magnet draws iron.”* This last remark prepares us for what is to follow. In an admonitory letter of the year 1460, Pius II. severely reprimands Rodrigo for his unseemly conduct at an entertainment given at Siena. True, the offender was not yet in priest's orders; but he was Bishop elect of Valencia and Vice-Chancellor of the Church, as well as Cardinal.† No result seems to have followed this rebuke, for we find him leading an immoral life when present with the Crusaders at Ancona (1464).‡ Four years later he was nominated Bishop of Albano, and was ordained priest. Nevertheless, it is after this very time that we have undoubted evidence of the beginning of a *liaison* which lasted for a number of years. The lady was Vanozza de' Catanei, who was born in Rome in 1442. By her he had four children—Cesare, Juan, Jofré, and Lucrezia. There were also two elder children, Pedro Luis and Girolama, who were probably born of another mother.§

During the pontificates of Pius II. and Paul II., though not in the favour of either of these Popes, Cardinal Borgia contrived to increase his influence, and to amass an enormous fortune. But under Sixtus IV. (1471–1484) the same pernicious practice which had so early conferred upon him the highest ecclesiastical offices, now raised up formidable rivals. Six of the new Pope's nephews were named Cardinals; and among these, two especially, Giuliano della Rovere and Pietro Riario, were loaded with other honours and benefices.¶ The

* “Formosus est, lætissimo vultu, aspectuque jocundo, lingua ornata atque melliflua, qui mulieres egregias visas ad se amandum gratior allicit, et mirum in modum concitat, plusquam magnes ferrum: quas tamen intactas dimittere sane putatur” (Muratori, iii. pt. ii. 1036).

† Olivier and Leonetti throw doubt on the authenticity of this brief. Dr. Pastor says that it is still preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Lib. Brev. 9, f. 161), and that there is absolutely no ground for denying its authenticity. See “Hist. of the Popes” (Eng. trans.), ii. p. 454.

‡ Pastor, *loc. cit.* p. 455, n. 2.

§ A little comparison of dates, as L'Epinois observes, is enough to dispose of Olivier's contention that all of these were the offspring of a lawful marriage between Rodrigo and Giulia Farnese. Lucrezia died in child-birth in 1519. Had she been born in lawful wedlock she must then have been at least sixty-three years old, seeing that her father Rodrigo was a Cardinal in 1456. Again Giulia, who is said by Olivier to have died in Valencia in 1486, is spoken of many times during Alexander's pontificate. She did not die till 1524. (Rawdon Brown, “Calendar of State Papers,” iii. p. 358, quoted in *La Civiltà*, p. 728.)

¶ DUBLIN REVIEW, Oct. 1895, p. 320.

death of Pietro in his eight-and-twentieth year put an end to his scandalous career; but Giuliano long survived to be the determined adversary of the Borgias. When Sixtus died, Cardinal Borgia felt that his chance of obtaining the tiara had come at last. He immediately began to make lavish promises to his brother Cardinals; and so confident was he of success that he gave orders for the barricading of his palace against the pillage which was customary on such occasions. But once again was the old adage verified: *chi entra papa esce cardinale*. In spite of all his intrigues he could reckon on no more than five votes, a number just short of those cast for his rival, Giuliano. Barbo, a nephew of Paul II., a man of austere manners, received more votes than both together, but he could not reach the requisite two-thirds majority. Borgia now put forward his countryman Moles, whose age and weak health gave promise of a short Pontificate and a fresh conclave; but this design was thwarted by Giuliano, who, also seeing his own chance hopeless, endeavoured to secure the election of his creature, Cardinal Cibò. Several of the Borgia party were won over by Giuliano's promises, and at length Rodrigo himself gave in his adhesion. Cibò, who took the name of Innocent VIII. (1484–1492), remained completely under the influence of Giuliano. All that Rodrigo Borgia could do was to add to his already enormous possessions and provide for the welfare of his children.

The next conclave, that of 1492, will ever be infamous in the annals of the Church. Borgia was now more than sixty years of age. If he failed this time he could have no further hope of success. Yet his chances seemed less hopeful than ever. For the past twenty years Giuliano della Rovere had been in power, and was now supported by France, Genoa, and Naples. The first three scrutinies, however, pointed to the probable election of Caraffa or Costa; both excellent men, whose elevation would have been of great benefit to the Church. But Borgia did not despair. His great wealth, his numberless honours and benefices were freely held out as bribes to the electors. To Sforza he promised not only the Vice-Chancellorship and his palace, but also the Castle of Nepi, the rich bishopric of Erlau, and other benefices; to Orsini, the important cities of Monticelli and Soriano, the Legation of the

Mark, and the bishopric of Cartagena; to Colonna, the Abbey of Subiaco and a number of surrounding villages; to Savelli, Città Castellano and the Bishopric of Minorca; to Pallavicini, the Bishopric of Pampeluna; to Michiel, the suburbicarian Bishopric of Porto; to Sclafenati, Sanseverino, Riario, and Domenico della Rovere, rich abbeys and benefices. In this way fourteen votes were secured. Only one more was required, but this proved most difficult to obtain. Caraffa, Costa, Piccolomini, and Zeno were not to be won over by the most dazzling promises. To his great credit, young Cardinal Giovanni de Medici (afterwards Leo X.) held fast to this party. Giuliano della Rovere was of course bitterly opposed to Borgia. Basso and Lorenzo Cibò would have nothing to do with the traffic. There remained only Gherardo, who was now in his ninety-fifth year, and was hardly capable of forming a judgment. His friends persuaded him to vote for Borgia, and thus the election was accomplished (August 10th, 11th, 1492).*

Here we may well pause and ask how it came about that a man who was utterly unfit for the very lowest of the Church's offices, should now have attained to the highest. No words can be too severe to apply to the conduct of the Cardinals. If they believed him to be unworthy they basely sacrificed the welfare of God's Church in return for his bribes. But the case would seem to be far worse. Some of them, at least, actually thought him a good man for the post! His scandalous life was well known to them—but what of that? He was a man of high intelligence, he was gifted with ready speech and was marvellously skilled in the management of affairs. His handsome appearance in his early days has already been described. At the time of his election he still retained much of his youthful vigour and good looks, while his majestic presence and dignified manners excited the admiration of all who beheld him. This, surely, was the man to restore order in Rome, to settle the Neapolitan succession, to confront the ambitious Charles VIII. of France, and to circumvent the wiles of the Medicis and Sforzas. The Cardinals hardly seem to have given a thought to the fact that they were choosing the Vicar

* The authorities for this account of the conclave may be found in Pastor, iii. 275 *seq.* The German edition is henceforth referred to.

of Christ. Those who have studied the pontificates of Calixtus III., Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII., and have noted the successive appointments to the Sacred College, may be shocked indeed, but cannot be surprised that the Princes of the Church should have lost all sense of the sacredness of their office. The Romans, who were the witnesses of all this corruption, had naturally come to look upon the Pontiff in the light of a worldly ruler; and hence they celebrated the election and coronation of Alexander VI. (so must we call him now) with unexampled enthusiasm and splendour. So, too, in the rest of Italy, with the marked exception of Venice, the appointment was favourably received. The foreign powers reserved their approval, but their hesitation was due more to fear of the new Pope's abilities than to abhorrence of his vices. They dreaded that the papacy should fall into the hands of one who could be as bold, as cunning, and as unscrupulous as themselves.

Any hope that the graces and responsibilities of his high office would change the character of Alexander was speedily destroyed. True, he put down disorder with a high hand, and endeavoured by his injunctions and by the example of his own frugal household expenses, to restore the Papal finances. He even promised to reform the Court, to keep his children away from Rome, and to unite Christendom against the Turk, as his uncle Calixtus III. had tried to do. But these promises came to nothing. In his first consistory he conferred a Cardinal's hat upon his nephew Juan, Archbishop of Monreale. Cesare, now a youth of seventeen, received his father's rich Bishopric of Valencia, in addition to that of Pampeluna, which he already possessed. A year later he also became a member of the Sacred College, at the same time as John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Ippolito d'Este (a boy of fourteen), and Alessandro Farnese (b. 1468), who afterwards became Pope Paul III.*

* "With regard to the nomination of Alessandro Farnese, Sigismondo de Conti observes that it was due to the request of the Romans, while other informants speak of illicit relations between Alexander and Farnese's sister, 'Giulia la Bella.' 'If this was really the case,' says von Reumont (iii. 267), 'Farnese's excellent qualities gave ample reason for burying in oblivion all such suspicious beginnings.' . . . All further doubt as to the *liaison* between Alexander and Giulia (which, however, dates back to his time as Cardinal)

The young Cardinal made no pretence of having any vocation to the ecclesiastical state or even of leading a moral life. War and politics, art and literature, bull-fighting and amours were his chief occupations and amusements. Even more than his father, he was the typical Borgia—brilliant, stealthy, determined, unscrupulous, eaten up with vice and ambition. He never became a priest; indeed he was only waiting for an opportunity to cast away his scarlet hat and his benefices, and to contract an advantageous marriage. His younger brother Juan, Duke of Gandia, was married to the cousin of Ferdinand of Spain. Far inferior in ability to Cesare, he was his equal in vice. On him Alexander conferred the principality of Tricarico. Jofré, the third brother, was made Prince of Squillace, with a revenue of 40,000 ducats, and he received in marriage a daughter of Alfonso of Calabria. Thus were the honours, the wealth, and the possessions of the Church lavishly bestowed on these worthless youths and their friends by the infatuated Alexander; but much as he loved and spoiled them, none of them had so great a place in his affection as the notorious Lucrezia.

Annalists, epigrammatists, and modern historians, says von Reumont, have vied with novelists and playwrights in representing Lucrezia Borgia as the most abandoned of her sex—as the heroine of the dagger and poisoned-cup. She lived in a wicked age, at a wicked court, amidst the wicked example of her own family; and yet, however much she may have been affected by the corruption almost universally prevailing, she was far from deserving such an evil reputation. The gravest charges are based on reports, the exaggerations and foulness of which surpass the bounds of credibility or rather of possibility—or else they are found in the satires of a city whose wit has always been most bitter and cutting. A multitude of facts give the lie to these statements. . . . Without doubt she must be acquitted of the majority of the charges heaped up against her.*

All the writers of the day speak with rapture of Lucrezia's beauty and grace and gaiety. When she was only eleven years

was removed by the publication of the Brief of L. Pucci, Dec. 23 and 24, 1493. See Gregorovius, "Lucr. Borgia," appendix, n. 11; L'Epinois, 397 *seq.*; and Pieper, Burchardt's "Diary," xvi. 22." Pastor, iii. p. 301. It was Paul III. who summoned the Council of Trent and approved of the Society of Jesus. He also made Blessed John Fisher a Cardinal.

* III. ii. 204, 206. Gregorovius, on his own account, comes to the same conclusion ("Lucr. Borgia," p. 159 *seq.*) Dr. Pastor, however, gives proof that she had an illegitimate child (iii. 289, note).

old she was betrothed to a Spanish nobleman, Juan de Centelles, and afterwards to Count Aversa. But when her father became Pope, a more brilliant alliance was sought for her. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who had played so prominent a part in Alexander's election, brought about her betrothal to his relative Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro. The marriage was celebrated with much splendour in the Vatican itself, in the presence of Alexander and twelve Cardinals. "The ladies danced," says the Ferrarese Ambassador, "and a good comedy was played with songs and music. The Pope and all the others were present. . . . Thus did we spend the whole night." * Much more shall we hear of Lucrezia and her brothers, for Alexander's sole object seemed to be the aggrandisement of his family. Meantime we must turn our attention to another quarter, where a great movement was on foot to put an end to the scandals and miseries of the Church.

Unhappily it has been our lot to have to dwell on the shameful characters of a shameful period of the Church's history. But it would be a grave error to take no notice of the many holy men and women who deplored the evils of the time, and prayed and laboured for reform. Zealous missionaries recognised that they could best promote God's glory, not by going to far-off lands to carry the Gospel to the poor benighted infidels, but by converting the profligate pagans at home. The Franciscans, who had the melancholy distinction of counting among their members Sixtus IV. and his dissolute nephews, also gave to the Church such stirring missionaries as St. Bernardine of Siena (died 1444); Albert of Sarteano (died 1450); Antony of Rimini (about 1450); Sylvester of Siena (about 1450); John of Prato (about 1455); St. John Capistran (died 1456); Antony of Bitonto (died 1459); Jacopo della Marca (died 1476); Robert of Lecce (died 1483); Antony of Vercelli (died 1483); Michael of Carcano (about 1485); Bernardine of Feltre (died 1494); Bernardine of Bustis (died 1500). The other Orders of Friars, Servites, Carmelites, and Augustinians likewise could boast of famous preachers; but it was the Order of St. Dominic which furnished the greatest of them all—Giovanni Savonarola (1452–1498).

* "Recitatieque ibi sunt comedie et quidam lascive." Burchard, "*Diarium*," ii. 80.

Savonarola's early efforts at Ferrara and Florence had been failures. Far from being discouraged, his spirit was stirred within him at the wickedness of these cities. In the Lent of 1485, while preaching at San Gimignano, near Siena, he startled his hearers by boldly foretelling the speedy chastisement and reform of the Church. Where denunciation had been in vain, prophecy produced the most extraordinary results. His confidence in his predictions, the force with which he enunciated them, the Scriptural authorities by which he supported them, all these aroused the greatest interest and alarm. The fame of the prophet spread from city to city, until at last in 1491 he was invited to speak from the pulpit of the Duomo at Florence—the Notre Dame of the Renaissance. The spacious edifice was thronged in every part by thousands waiting long hours for the appearance of the little Friar, with the pale ascetic face, deeply furrowed brow, dark piercing eyes, bold aquiline nose, and thick compressed lips. It seemed to them as though one of the old Hebrew seers had come back to earth again. His style of preaching was that of the prophets and apostles; he made no elaborate divisions of his subject; he propounded no questions for solution; he avoided all rhetorical display. Taking some passage of Scripture, usually of the Old Testament, he expounded it according to the four-fold meanings: literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical.* This gave him ample scope for his scathing denunciations and confident predictions. No one was spared; none was to escape the wrath close at hand. Lorenzo the Magnificent, though openly and repeatedly attacked, endeavoured in vain to conciliate the outspoken Friar. The clergy, especially those in high places, were assailed with a violence which in truth they richly deserved. What gave the greatest force to his words was the fact that his own life was a shining example of the reform which he laboured to introduce. He brought back his own convent of St. Mark's to the strict observance of the austere Dominican rule: and of his brethren he had the coarsest habit, the hardest bed, the smallest and most scantily furnished cell. For three years he continued his denunciation of

* *Litera gesta docet : quid credas allegoria :
Moralis quid agas ; quo tendas anagogia.*

vice and promise of speedy chastisement, until in the Lent of 1494 he astounded the Florentines by announcing the coming of a new Cyrus, who was to march in triumph through Italy. In the following September he spoke again of the same subject. With harrowing tones he gave out the words of God to Noah: "Behold, I will bring the waters of a great flood upon the earth." As he spoke, it was as though a thunderbolt had fallen on the Duomo. The assembled multitudes were stricken with horror and dismay; no man spake to his neighbour: nothing was heard but wailing and lamentation. News came soon after that Charles VIII. of France was rapidly advancing towards Florence at the head of a mighty army. The citizens rose in rebellion against the Medicis and cast them out, and on November 19 the invaders entered the city.

The closing years of the fifteenth century mark a new epoch in European history. The nations, much as we have since known them, first begin to appear. The English have been driven back to their own island; Spain has been united under Ferdinand and Isabella, and has rid itself of the Moors; the long reign of Frederick III. has made Austria the centre of German affairs. But it is in France that we note the greatest change. The work of deliverance and union, begun by the piety and valour of the Maid of Orleans and carried on by the good fortune and cunning of Louis XI., was completed by the marriage of his son Charles VIII. with the heiress of Brittany. Without great abilities, but conscious of the strength arising from national union, the young King Charles began to entertain vast schemes of conquest. He would cross the Alps and would march through Italy to make good his claim to the crown of Naples; he would take the cross against the Infidel and gain possession of the capital of the East; he would even bring the whole of Christendom under one supreme ruler.* At the end of August 1494, he set out from Grenoble. Most of the states of northern Italy, by their hatred of the Neapolitans, received the invader with open arms. On September 5 he was at Turin; October 14 at Pavia; October 18 at Piacenza. As he drew near to the Florentine territory,

* Pastor, iii. p. 311 *seq.* Dr. Creighton has an admirable chapter on Charles VIII.'s Italian expedition, iii. p. 179 *seq.*

Piero de' Medici brought him the keys of all his strongholds. On November 8 he had reached Lucca, where he was met by Savonarola, who hailed him as sent of God to set free the people of Italy and to reform the Church. There, too, he found another envoy, Cardinal Piccolomini, who came with overtures from Alexander VI. But Charles made answer that he himself would visit Rome and would negotiate with the Holy Father in person. Nine days later (November 17) he made his triumphal entry into Florence amidst the joyful acclamation of the citizens.

The Pope's position was full of peril. He had sided with Alfonso II. against the French claim, and now the French king at the head of an invincible host was almost at his gates. Worst of all, his deadly rival Giuliano della Rovere was in Charles's company, and boasted everywhere that the French were about to depose the simoniacal usurper of the Papacy and summon a General Council. Alexander made ready for flight, but the enemy advanced so rapidly that flight became impossible. Nothing was left but to come to terms. Charles promised to respect all the Pope's spiritual and temporal rights, and asked for quarters and a free passage for his troops on their road to Naples. On these conditions he entered the Eternal City on the last day of the year, 1494. The splendid equipments and the warlike aspect of the French filled the Romans with admiration and terror. They cried out: "*Francia! Colonna! Vincoli!*" * as they saw the King ride along with Cardinals Sforza, Giuliano della Rovere, Colonna, and Savelli. While his bitterest enemies were thus in triumph, Alexander fled for refuge to the Castle of S. Angelo, hourly expecting his deposition. But in truth the French King had no desire to make any change. What could he gain by setting up Ascanio Sforza or Giuliano? Alexander was completely in his power and could no doubt be compelled to grant all that he required. Accordingly, a treaty was entered into: Cesare Borgia was to accompany the French army as Legate (really as hostage); Djem, the Sultan's brother, a valuable prisoner in the Pope's possession, was to be handed over to Charles, but the annual sum of 40,000 ducats paid for his keep by Bajazet II.

* Giuliano della Rovere was Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli.

was still to go to Alexander; a general pardon was to be granted by the Pontiff to all who had sided with the French. Nothing was said about Naples. Alexander now invited the French king to the Vatican, where the Stanze Nuove was fitted up for his reception. The two sovereigns met for the first time in the Vatican gardens in an informal way, and on January 19 Charles appeared in state at the public Consistory to do homage. After making the three prescribed genuflexions, he kissed the foot and hand of the Pontiff, who then raised him up and embraced him. Then the President of the Parliament of Paris announced that his royal master requested several favours, especially the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. To this Alexander gave an evasive reply. Nevertheless, Charles said in French: "Holy Father, I am come to offer obedience and reverence to your Holiness, as my predecessors the kings of France have been wont to do," thereby acknowledging Alexander, as the President explained, to be the true Vicar of Christ and successor of the Apostles, Peter and Paul. During the rest of his stay in Rome, Charles made repeated attempts to obtain the investiture of Naples, but the Pontiff remained true to Alfonso. That unfortunate monarch, however, abdicated as soon as the French drew nigh to his frontiers. Very little resistance was offered to the invaders, who made their entry into Naples on February 22. Now was the time for Charles to prove the sincerity of his promises to wage war on the Turk and reform the Church; but the king and his army gave themselves up to the delights for which the beautiful southern capital has ever been notorious. Meantime, the northern Italian states, urged on by Ferdinand and Isabella and Maximilian, who were alarmed at the triumphant progress of the French, formed themselves with the Pope into a Holy League against the "foreign barbarians." But disunion prevented them from availing themselves of the chances offered them by Charles's carelessness. After celebrating his coronation at Naples he started back for France. In spite of the assurance which he gave to Alexander, the Pontiff fled from Rome to Orvieto, leaving Cardinals Morton and Carvajal to receive him in the Eternal City. Charles was true to his word. Having paid a visit to St. Peter's (June 1, 1495) he passed on with his army to

Siena and Poggibonsi. In the last-named city he was met by Savonarola.

Most Christian King [said the prophet] thou hast provoked the anger of the Lord, because thou hast neglected the reform of the Church which the Lord so often enjoined on thee by my mouth and for which he set thee apart by such unmistakable signs. For this time thou wilt escape the danger; but if thou dost not take up again the abandoned work—if thou hearkenest not to the command which the Lord now again repeats to thee by His unworthy servant—I hereby make known to thee that God in his anger will send upon thee much greater evils and will set up another in thy stead.

A determined effort was made at Fornuovo to cut off the retreat of the French; but Charles fought his way through, though with the loss of many men and most of the booty which he had collected (July 6), and finally reached his own kingdom (November 1495).

By the departure of the French King, Alexander felt himself safe from any further attempts to depose him. Taking advantage of this security, he now set about the destruction of all who had opposed him and favoured the invaders. Among these, the Orsini had especially distinguished themselves; and on them the Pope was resolved to wreak special vengeance. His son Juan, Duke of Gandia, in whose military abilities he placed great confidence, was summoned from Spain and was nominated Captain-General of the Papal forces. At first Juan's campaign was attended with marked success. Serofano, Galera, Formello, and Campagnano were captured; Anguillara of its own accord opened its gates. But Bracciano, the stronghold of the Orsini, held out against all his attacks; and finally the papal army was completely defeated at Soriano, Juan himself being wounded (January 25, 1497). Alexander was compelled to agree to a peace which made the Orsini once more the virtual rulers of the Campagna. His efforts against Giuliano della Rovere's partisans were more successful. Ostia was taken; Giuliano was deprived of all his benefices; Giovanni, Giuliano's brother, was removed from the post of prefect of the city. In Rome the Spanish party was now supreme. The Pope showered upon them and on his sons especially all the spoils of the vanquished. In spite of his defeat Juan received the Duchy of Benevento, and the cities of

Terracina and Pontecorvo; Cesare, who was still a cardinal, was appointed to go as Legate to Naples to crown the young king, Federigo.

But the triumphs and the wickedness of the Borgia family soon met with terrible retribution. On the evening of June 14th, Vanozza gave a supper to her sons—Juan, Duke of Gandia and Cardinal Cesare—and to their cousin, Cardinal Juan Borgia, at her villa near S. Pietro in Vincoli. It was rather late when the young princes mounted their mules to return to the Vatican. When they were near the Palazzo Cesarini, where Cardinal Ascanio Sforza was living, the Duke left the others on the plea of going in quest of further pleasure. He took up behind him a masked figure who had been present at the supper, and rode away. As he did not appear the next morning, his servants informed the Pope of what had taken place. Alexander, however, saw little reason for anxiety: the Duke was probably engaged in some love intrigue. But when evening came and there were still no signs of his son, he became greatly alarmed. Orders were given to make most diligent search for the missing Duke. At last on the 16th a Slavonian wood-seller gave information that on the night of the supper he had seen a party of men throw a corpse into the Tiber. When asked why he had not immediately informed the Governor, he replied that in his time he had seen a good hundred corpses flung into the river without any one taking any notice. Numbers of fishermen were at once set to work to dredge the stream, and in a few hours a body was found near a garden belonging to Cardinal Sforza. It was the Duke of Gandia. His throat had been cut, and there was eight other terrible wounds on the corpse. He was still dressed in his rich apparel; his purse containing thirty ducats had not been touched. "When Alexander VI. heard that the Duke had been murdered and flung like dirt into the river he was deeply grieved. He shut himself up in his chamber and wept bitterly. From Wednesday evening till Saturday he neither ate nor drank, nor did he sleep a moment."*

* Burchard, "*Diarium*," ii. 390, 391. Burchard is the chief authority for the story of the murder. He gives no opinion as to who was the perpetrator of the outrage. Suspicion pointed to the Sforzas or to the Orsini. Alexander

This terrible blow caused Alexander to enter seriously into himself. He resolved to take stringent measures for the reform of the Church, and to entirely change his own mode of life. On June 19th a commission of six Cardinals, including the pious Costa and Caraffa, was appointed to draw up plans of reform. Jofré Borgia was sent away from Rome, and it was reported that henceforth the Pope would allow none of his children or nephews to reside with him. The Bull of reform which he intended to publish may still be seen in the Vatican archives. It contains admirable regulations for the amendment of the Papal Court and of the Cardinals, for the suppression of traffic in benefices, and for the enforcement of residence and so forth. Unfortunately it was never published. As Alexander recovered from his grief he felt more and more the difficulty of breaking with his old life and separating himself from his children. In September Cesare returned from Naples, laden with money and honours, and demanded permission to resign his Cardinal's hat and to marry. For some time there had been difficulties between Lucrezia and her husband Giovanni Sforza. As the marriage had not been consummated, the Pope dissolved it (December 20). Giovanni took a terrible revenge. He accused Alexander of acting for the most atrocious motive; and, incredible as it may seem, the slander was believed in many quarters. "It will be observed that Giovanni did not accuse Alexander VI. in the past, but imputed a motive for his conduct in the future. This motive was shown to be false by the fact that the Pope instantly set to work to provide a new husband for Lucrezia. . . . It is bad enough that Alexander gave a colourable pretext to such slanders. The slanders themselves rest on no evidence that justifies an impartial mind in believing them."* Not long afterwards, however, a child was born, which was acknowledged by Alexander to be his own.†

himself believed the latter to be guilty. Many thought that the Duke was simply the victim of some injured husband. Later writers have accused Cesare. Dr. Pastor altogether scouts this view. His own opinion is that the Orsini, knowing the vicious habits of the Duke, made away with him on occasion of some love adventure. He gives this only as a strong suspicion (Pastor iii. 361 *seq.*). In truth the Borgias had made so many enemies, and these were, like themselves, so murderous, that the difficulty lies in picking out which of them was the actual criminal.

* Dr. Creighton, "Hist. of the Papacy," iii. p. 161.

† There are in the Vatican Archives two bulls of the same date (Sept. 1,

While Alexander and his family were desecrating the Vatican by their scandalous lives, Savonarola had become the virtual ruler of Florence. The people saw in him the true prophet of all that had come to pass; he alone had been able to win over the French king before his entry into Florence; he alone had induced him to depart. To him they looked for counsel and command in the difficult task of reforming the political constitution now that the Medici had been cast out. Thus it was that the pious mystic found himself called upon to deal with matters quite foreign to his disposition and training.* Nevertheless his success, at least for a time, was marvellous. Florence, as his enemies declared, became one huge monastery. His reforms embraced not only politics, but social life, science, literature, and art. In opposition to the Paganism of the false Renaissance, Christianity was to resume its sway over every department of life; the popular cry was henceforth to be *Erriva Cristo!* the divine law was to be the one supreme standard of action; Christ Himself was proclaimed King of Florence and Protector of her freedom, and Savonarola was His prophet. Naturally enough the zealous Friar longed to extend his reform to Rome, the capital of Christendom, where reform was needed even more than in his own city. The vices of the Pope and the Curia were denounced by him in terms of the bitterest invective.

Strange as it may seem, Alexander bore these attacks with the greatest equanimity. Had the Prior of St. Mark's confined himself to religious questions he would have received no condemnation from Rome. When, however, he intruded himself into the domain of politics, and openly sided with the Pope's political foes—the French especially—then it was that Alexander de-

1501) relating to this child Juan Borgia. In the first he is declared to be the natural son of Cesare, and is said to be about three years old; in the second, he is described as son of Alexander. The explanation of this discrepancy would seem to be that the second bull was not to be produced unless necessary. In the first it is stated that the legitimation is to hold good even if doubt should arise as to Cesare's paternity, and if the father should prove to be "cujuscumque dignitatis et excellentie mundane vel ecclesiastice etiam supreme." Burchard says that the mother was "quædam Romana." The horrible suggestion of Guicciardini and others that Lucrezia was the mother is now commonly rejected. Dr. Pastor has a long and valuable note on this miserable question, iii. p. 449 seq.

* This is not the place to treat of the theocratic democracy which Savonarola established. See Pastor, iii. p. 139 seq.; Villari, i. 266 seq.; Dr. Creighton, iii. p. 217.

terminated to put a stop to his preaching. A Brief, dated July 25, 1495—that is, a fortnight after the battle of Fornuovo—ordered Savonarola “in virtue of holy obedience,” to betake himself to Rome to render an account of his prophecies and revelations.* He, however, begged to be excused; his health would not permit him to travel, and, besides, the welfare of Florence required his presence. Then came a second Brief (September 8), couched in the severest terms, directed not to St. Mark’s, but to the rival convent of Santa Croce, and forbidding Savonarola to preach. The unfortunate Friar replied that the Pope had been misled by hostile informants; he had never claimed to be a prophet, though some things which he had foretold had afterwards come to pass. “I have preached nothing,” he adds, “but the teaching of the Doctors of the Church. If I have ever departed from this I will repent and acknowledge it before all the people. Once more I repeat what I have always said, viz., that I submit myself and all my writings to the judgment of the Holy Roman Church.”†

Through the good offices of Cardinal Caraffa, verbal permission was granted to Savonarola to resume his preaching provided that he confined himself to purely religious subjects. Accordingly in Lent 1496, he once more ascended the pulpit of the Duomo; but so far from abiding by the conditions, he declared the Papal Briefs to be of no effect because based on false information and contrary to Christian charity; and in almost every sermon he vehemently denounced the vices of Rome. Nevertheless it was not until November that Alexander sent another Brief, and even then he insisted only on the removal of Savonarola from Florence. It is clear enough that the Pope was not alarmed at the prophet’s denunciations: what he really feared was the return of the French, and the summoning of a General Council to depose him. In March 1497, however, he complained bitterly to the Florentine Ambassador of the conduct of the Government of Florence in allowing Savonarola to attack him, and indeed in

* The terms of the Brief are most friendly. Villari attributes this to craft on Alexander’s part (i. p. 382). Ranke, however, admits the great moderation of the Pope (“Studien,” p. 246).

† Villari, ii. pp. 35, 36.

the Lenten course of this year the Prior of St. Mark's spoke more openly than ever of Alexander's simony, nepotism, and vice. But now his own popularity was waning. The drastic reforms on which he had insisted had made him many enemies; and not a few of his partisans began to weary of the gloomy life they were leading. His sermons were interrupted by riots, so that the Government had to forbid all preaching by the members of any religious order whatsoever. Then Savonarola wrote to the Pope (May 22nd) declaring that he had never attacked any special person, least of all the Vicar of Christ, and that he submitted himself to the judgment of the Church. Alexander, however, had already taken decisive measures by signing a decree of excommunication. Once again the recalcitrant Friar replied that the decree was invalid because founded on false information; he renewed his protestations of submission, but at the same time refused to obey commands opposed to Christian charity and the Law of God. Nevertheless, for a time he abstained from all his priestly functions; but when Christmas-day came he said three Masses and gave Holy Communion to a number of his partisans. In the following Lent (1498), in open defiance of the excommunication, he began a fresh course of sermons which surpassed in violence all that he had ever preached before. This time the Pope acted with promptitude. He commanded the Florentines, under pain of interdict, to put a stop to the sermons and to send the excommunicated Friar to Rome. Still, even now he declared that he condemned Savonarola, not on account of his doctrine, but for disobedience and contempt; and that he was ready to absolve him if he would submit. But Savonarola became more and more outrageous. He asserted that Alexander was not Pope at all, and he called upon the secular powers to summon a council to depose the usurper as guilty of simony, heresy, and infidelity. Can we wonder that the Pope at last took steps to destroy this implacable adversary? * In truth he found the Florentines

* Villari's "Life of Savonarola" is grossly unfair to Alexander VI., and is quite at variance with the most reliable documents—*e.g.*, the despatches of the Florentine Ambassador. In his review of this work Mr. Armstrong observes: "Even a Pope has some rights of self-defence, and had Alexander overlooked the contumacy of the Friar, the continuance of the Papacy would have been impossible. Until the last act of the drama, he seems to have

themselves only too eager for the destruction of their fallen idol. The melancholy farce of the ordeal by fire (April 7, 1498) disgusted even the best friends of Savonarola. Next day, Palm Sunday, the enraged mob stormed the Convent of St. Mark's, and the Prior himself was carried off to prison by the city authorities. As soon as the news of the arrest reached Rome, Alexander wrote expressing his satisfaction and asking for the surrender of the prisoner. Though this request was not granted, two Papal delegates were permitted to assist at the trial, and there is no doubt that the Pope insisted on the punishment of the man who had so repeatedly endeavoured to depose him. As might be expected, the decision of the court was that Savonarola and two of his brethren were to die for their "monstrous crimes." The condemned men met their doom with courage and calmness. They were first degraded as heretics, schismatics, and despisers of the Holy See, and afterwards were handed over to the secular power. Then they were hanged till they were dead; their bodies were burned, and the ashes were thrown into the Arno (May 23, 1498).*

The remaining five years of Alexander's pontificate are simply the reign of Cesare Borgia. By permission of the Pope he laid aside all his ecclesiastical dignities and married Charlotte d'Albret.† The death of Charles VIII. and the accession of Louis XII. brought about a complete change in the Papal policy. France was now closely allied with the Holy See. Cesare became Duke of Valence, and rode side by side with his old enemy, Cardinal Giuliano, as Louis entered Milan in triumph (Oct. 6, 1499). Though the season was far

acted with singular moderation, and the changes which the author (Villari) ascribes to malevolent cunning were clearly due to a real difficulty in taking stringent measures against a man for whose life and moral teaching he had considerable respect" ("Eng. Hist. Rev.," iv. p. 455). Dr. Creighton's admirable chapter on Alexander VI. and Savonarola, is also in marked contrast to Villari's partisan account ("History of the Papacy," iii. 215).

* Dr. Pastor ridicules the Protestant legend which represents Savonarola as the precursor of Luther. No doubt there may be found among the writings and sayings of the great Florentine reformer many fierce invectives against the Pope. But what pious Catholic will think hardly of him for this? He did not attack the Holy See, but only the man who most unworthily occupied it. In his "Triumph of the Cross" he says: "Qui ab unitate Romanæ Ecclesiæ doctrinam dissentit, procul dubio per devia aberrans a Christo recedit, sed omnes hæretici ab ea discordant, ergo ii a recto tramite declinant neque Christiani appellari possunt" (Lib. iv. c. 6). See Newman, "Occasional Sermons," p. 210, *seq.*

† It has already been noted that he never took sacred orders.

spent, the young duke marched southwards and captured the important cities of Imola and Forli. A splendid reception awaited him in Rome: Alexander could not restrain his joy at the brilliant success of his son, and conferred on him the royal gift of the Golden Rose (March 29, 1500). Meantime, Lucrezia had been married a second time to Alfonso of Bisceglia, a natural son of Alfonso II. The marriage, which promised to be a happy one, was brought to an untimely end. As Alfonso was leaving the Vatican on the evening of July 12, he was set upon by a band of assassins and grievously wounded. Nothing could dissuade him from the belief that Cesare had ordered the attempt to murder him. The Pope and Lucrezia vainly endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation. Before he was well recovered from his wounds, Alfonso shot at his brother-in-law from the window of his sick chamber, and was thereupon cut to pieces by Cesare's guard (August 18). It is no wonder that the pilgrims who came flocking to Rome in this year of the great Jubilee (1500) were profoundly shocked at the condition of the Holy City. At a time when peace and good-will should prevail, they found all Italy in arms and Rome itself one vast camp. The successor of St. Peter, whom they came to venerate, was an old man still living in sin with his children around him. His son, a brilliant young libertine, was openly selling nominations to the Sacred College, and diverting all the Jubilee alms to the fitting out of a mighty expedition. But let us hurry on to the end of this sad and disgraceful story.

A year after the death of her second husband, Lucrezia was betrothed to Alfonso, the eldest son of the Duke of Ferrara. The preparations for the marriage were carried on in most royal style. "I intend," said Alexander to the Ferrarese ambassador, "that Lucrezia shall have the most and the finest pearls of any Italian princess." Numerous splendid and licentious entertainments were given by Cesare and the ambassador, at which the Pope was present.* The marriage was celebrated in the Vatican with a magnificence surpassing all previous occasions. Alexander's wish was

* On the story "*De convivio quinquaginta meretricum*," see Pastor iii. 452, note 1.

accomplished : Lucrezia's trousseau and jewels were such as few queens could boast of. And now that she is leaving Rome never to return, it should be noted that her subsequent life at Ferrara was in every way exemplary. She proved a true and loving wife, a powerful protectress of the oppressed, a generous benefactress of the poor. She patronised the arts, and encouraged the society of such eminent men as Ariosto, Bembo, and Strozzi.*

Far different was Cesare's rule in Rome, where a veritable reign of terror prevailed. Discontent manifested itself in the most atrocious pamphlets against the Borgia family. Alexander himself took no notice of them ; Rome, he said, was a free city, where men could write and speak what they would. Not so Cesare. He looked upon such attacks as treason, and punished the offenders with extreme severity. Towards the end of 1502 his own generals, egged on by the Orsini, entered into a formidable conspiracy against him. Cesare was speedily informed of the plot, but he continued to act as though he had no suspicions. With the help of large appropriations from the Papal treasury he made his preparations in secret. On December 10 he set out with his forces from Imola to Cesena. "No one could divine the object of this movement," writes Machiavelli ; "all was mystery ; for this prince never speaks until he acts, and never acts until necessary." Soon it became clear that he was making for Sinigaglia. Andrea Doria, who held the castle there, fled away to Venice. When Cesare arrived he was met by the conspirators headed by Vitellozzo, two of the Orsini—Paolo and the Duke of Gravina—and Oliverotto of Fermo. He received them in the friendliest fashion, and with them he entered the city. All was now ready for action. The leaders were at once arrested, and their followers disarmed. That same evening Vitellozzo and Oliverotto were put to death ; a little later the two Orsini suffered the same fate. When the news reached Rome, Alexander seized Cardinal Orsini who had been the soul of the conspiracy, and shut him up in the castle of S. Angelo. He, too, soon after-

* The authorities for this latter period of Lucrezia's life may be found in Pastor, 453, note 2.

wards died—poisoned, men said, by the Borgias (Feb. 22, 1503).* Two months later died Cardinal Michiel, one of the richest members of the Sacred College; and in his case it is highly probable that Cesare murdered him to gain possession of his wealth. In May, nine new Cardinals were nominated, each of whom had to pay some 20,000 ducats for his promotion.

Cesare, now triumphant over his enemies and with the treasures and influence of the Papacy at his back, began to dream of lofty schemes. His father, though past three-score-and-ten, enjoyed excellent health, and might be counted to last for yet many years. Negotiations were entered into by the Pope and the Emperor to grant to Cesare the investiture of Pisa, Siena, and Lucca (August 10). His forces were assembled at Perugia, awaiting only his arrival to march into Tuscany—when suddenly the hand of God put an end to all his hopes. On the morning of August 12 the Pope felt unwell. Vomiting and fever set in and lasted all night. Cesare, who was on the point of starting for Perugia, also fell ill. About a week before, the two had dined at Cardinal Adriano's villa, and had remained till nightfall. The danger of being out late in the open air at this season is well known; and in this particular year the fever was more than usually prevalent.† All who were present at the banquet suffered in some way. Alexander's illness proved to be a severe attack of tertian fever. The usual remedy in those days—blood-letting—was resorted to, at first with some success. During the whole of the 17th he felt much better. The night, however, was a bad one; the fever returned with such violence that all hope was at an end. The dying man made his confession and received the Holy Viaticum. He lingered on until the next evening, when he passed away about the hour of vespers (August 18, 1503).‡

* L'Epinois who, as we have seen, has been most outspoken on the crimes of Alexander and his family, contends that Cardinal Orsini died of disease.

† Cardinal Juan Borgia died of fever on August 5.

‡ The fact that the Pope and Cesare were both seized at the same time, and that Alexander's corpse rapidly became putrified, gave rise to the suspicion of poison. The story received considerable embellishment from later writers. Dr. Pastor has carefully traced the course of the illness, and he quotes high medical authority showing that the symptoms were not those of any form of poisoning (iii. 468 *seq.*). Moreover, no writer who was present in Rome at the time, attributes the Pope's death to this cause. It is worthy of note that

At last God had delivered His Church from the foul clutches of this Judas of the Papacy. The feeling of relief which was so widespread as the news got abroad, is shared by us even now as we finish this story. As long as he lived there was no hope for the Church: now that he was gone, she could look forward to brighter days. But, alas! the evil that men do lives after them. When such a profligate could become Pope, and when a Pope could be such a profligate, can we wonder that some earnest spirits should have proposed to sweep away the Vatican and all its abominations? And yet these men were wrong. The office itself was sacred, and was necessary for the Church's existence. He who held it had covered it with infamy, but he could not change its essential character. What was needed was not to destroy the Papacy, but to purify it. Cleared of all the scandals which darkened it, it would once more shine out as the model, as well as the mother and mistress, of all the Churches.

Et gemma deterso luto
Nitore vincit sidera.

By God's mercy, the after history of the Borgia family gives us the most striking examples of the happy change which came over the Papacy and the Church. The unfortunate Juan Borgia, whose mysterious murder has here been recorded, left a widow, Maria Henriquez, and two children, Juan and Isabel. The last-named became a Poor Clare at Gandia, and was afterwards chosen abbess of that house.

Isabel was eminent [says Butler, October 10] for her extraordinary devotion and love of extreme poverty and penance. Her mother (Maria Henriquez) afterwards entered the same austere Order, and survived in it thirty-three years, living the most perfect model of humility, poverty, recollection, and penance, under obedience to her own daughter. She met death with so much joy that in her agony she desired a *Te Deum* might be sung as soon as she should have expired, in thanksgiving for her happy passage from this world to God. . . . Her son Juan was a nobleman of singular virtue. When a person complained that his (Juan's) alms exceeded his estate, his answer was, "If I had thrown away a larger sum on my pleasures, no one would have found fault with me.

Calixtus III. (1458), Pius II. (1464), Sixtus IV. (1484), Innocent VIII. (1492), and Alexander VI. (1503), all died in the month of August. Paul II. (1471), died on July 26.

But I had rather incur your censure and deprive myself of necessities than that Christ's members should be left in distress."

Juan's son, Francis, joined the newly-founded Society of Jesus, and became third General of the Order. And thus it came to pass that St. Pius V., a Pope of Savonarola's religious family, was working hand in hand at the Vatican with Alexander's great-grandson, St. Francis Borgia.

T. B. SCANNELL.

ART. V.—WANDERINGS OF EARLY IRISH SAINTS ON THE CONTINENT.

1. *Six Months in the Apennines.* By MARGARET STOKES.
London : George Bell & Sons. 1892.
2. *Three Months in the Forests of France.* By MARGARET STOKES. London : George Bell & Sons. 1895.

THE place of Ireland in religious history is so far unique that it had its period of greatest illumination when the light of Christianity burned lowest elsewhere, glimmering feebly through the Cimmerian blackness of the dark ages. That great catastrophe of civilisation, the collapse of the Western Empire, left unaffected the remote island in the ocean, the only known land on which the Roman had never set foot. Isolated from the current of universal history, and untouched alike by the material progress and moral corruption borne on the track of the legionaries, it had developed a social and religious system on lines of its own. Its people, then as now a warlike race, were identical with that inhabiting the western fringe of North Britain, and were, like them, called Scots ; while the centre and east of the country now known as Scotland, then Albyn, were occupied by the Picts, whose name has been merged into that of their neighbours.

The government of pre-Christian Ireland was at once monarchical and tribal, the chiefs being responsible to the provincial kings, and the latter owing allegiance to a nominal overlord, styled King of Ireland. The royal demesne of the suzerain was constituted by the lands of Meath, carved out of the four provinces at their meeting-point : and here was held the triennial assembly on the Hill of Tara, when the federated rulers and their chief counsellors met to confer upon matters of common interest.

An elaborate code of laws existed from a very early date, and class distinctions, based on property qualifications in land and cattle, were minutely discriminated. The religion of ancient Ireland was idolatry, mixed with elemental worship, of

which traces may still be found in popular superstitions. The great idol, Cenn Caerich, in the place of which, near the borders of Cavan, St. Patrick founded a church, was, we are told, covered with gold and silver, and surrounded by twelve lesser idols covered with brass. These formed, we may suppose, a Druidical circle like that of Stonehenge, of which many miniature examples still stand in remote parts of Ireland. The Druids, about whom so much has been written, and so little is known, combined the functions of professors of learning with those of soothsayers and wizards. Occult powers over nature, enabling them to produce fire, and call up tempest, fog, or darkness, are ascribed to them by the Irish myths; and their lesser spells included potions of oblivion, charms to cause trance or madness, and divination by the help of yew wands of the subterranean retreats of the hill-men or fairies. Popular legend recounts their attempt to defeat the preaching of St. Patrick by some of these incantations, and the saint's triumph over them by the superior power of prayer. The snakes and vipers which he was supposed to have banished from the island were probably, in the figurative language of the time, the demons evoked by the heathen rites he abolished.

Associated with the Druids as companions and disciples were the poets, so called because their utterances were all in rhyme, but who were really the national chroniclers, philosophers, and rhetoricians. This, and kindred professions, at one time absorbed, it is said, a third of the population of Ireland, which suffered, indeed, from a plague of poets, living upon and terrorising the people at large. Dabblers, too, in the occult sciences, they practised many idolatrous invocations forbidden by St. Patrick, who left them, however, the valuable privilege of composing satires on any prince or chief guilty of refusing them the just meed of their art. These so-called satires were powerful instruments for the levying of blackmail, as they were in many cases rhymed incantations, to which maleficent powers were ascribed. Numerous instances occur in Irish legendary history of the vengeance thus inflicted by unappreciated bards, and curious recipes are given for forging these bolts of destruction. The belief in the occult power of rhyme, at a period long subsequent to the preaching of Christianity, is illustrated by an anecdote of the poet Seanchan,

who flourished about 600 A.D. His indignation and disappointment at finding a favourite dish devoured by rats inspired a metrical satire, which caused ten of the predatory rodents to drop dead from the ceiling. Here we have the origin of the idea of rhyming rats to death referred to by Shakespeare and his contemporaries, as in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* :

Rhime them to death as they do Irish rats,
In drumming tunes.

and in *The Defense of Poesie*, by Sir Philip Sidney, "Nor be rimed to death, as is said to be done in Ireland."

Armed with these supernatural weapons, the poets claimed immunities and privileges the enforcement of which rendered them very burdensome to the rest of the community. As each greater luminary of the art was entitled to have thirty satellites in his train, and each minor poet half that number, they roamed the country in peripatetic academies, carrying a pot into which the forced contributions of the public were thrown. This recipient formed the centre of their performance, as the nine best musicians of the party grouped themselves round it, accompanying on their instruments the recitative or tune to which the others chanted in alternate strophes a poem composed for the occasion. But if the offerings thrown into the pot fell below the expected scale, their laudatory strains were changed to denunciations, formidable no less to self-love than to superstition, since the force of potent maledictions was ascribed to them. Something of the feeling with which they were regarded still survives in the Irish peasant's dread of being what he calls "ill-wished," and in the popular belief in "curses" hereditary in some families, and dating from such cause as the malediction of a lame beggar refused an alms, and transmitted in the recurrence of a like misfortune in the birth of a crippled child in every subsequent generation. Thrice at least was wholesale sentence of banishment passed upon the Irish guild of poets, the last time in 590 A.D., for no less a crime than the demand from the reigning king of the golden brooch fastening his mantle, and forming the hereditary insignia of his rank.

But the very possibility of such abuses of the privileges of learning shows how deep-seated was the veneration with which

it was regarded by the community which could tolerate them. Nor can it be doubted that the standard of culture maintained by the existence of an exclusively literary class prepared the way both for the acceptance of Christianity and for the extraordinary efflorescence of scholarship and culture which followed it. Within a century of the death of St. Patrick not only was Ireland covered with churches and monasteries, but she had begun to attract to her shores the youth of the neighbouring countries anxious to share in her intellectual revival. To the legendary literature handed down by means of a written alphabet from a very early age was now added the study of the classics, together with the familiarity with the ideas of other countries implied by the community of ecclesiastical tradition. Down to the beginning of the ninth century the four Irish universities, Armagh, Downpatrick, Cashel, and Lismore, were frequented by students from all parts of Gaul and Britain. The first-named numbered 7000 alumni, and a third of the town was appropriated to the use of those from foreign countries, especially Saxons and Britons. The youths who flocked to these primitive seats of learning lived in huts forming an encampment round the dwellings of their teachers, and appear to have been supported by the inhabitants of the district. The Venerable Bede, in referring to an outbreak of plague and its ravages in Ireland in 664 A.D., says that "many of the nobility and lower ranks of the English nation were there at the time, having left their native island for the sake of study," prosecuted by going about from the cell of one master to that of another.

The Scots [he goes on, meaning the Irish then so called] willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching gratis. Among these were Ethelwin and Egbert, two youths of great capacity of the English nobility, the former of whom was brother to Ethelwin, who also afterwards went into Ireland to study, and having been well instructed, returned to his own country, and being made bishop in the province of Lindsey, long governed that church worthily and creditably.

This passage shows the diffusion of learning through the adjoining countries from its centres in Ireland, and the important part played by these latter in supplying the British hierarchy with competent and efficient pastors. Student life in

those early times is illustrated by a curious story, quoted in Mr. O'Curry's work on "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish" from an old manuscript on vellum, giving an account of the reign of Finnachta "The Festive," from 673 to 693 A.D. This monarch, when riding at the head of his cavalcade in the direction of Clonfert, came up with a youth, who, in getting out of the way of the horses, had the misfortune to break the churn he was carrying. Loudly lamenting his loss, he ran after the royal cortège explaining his circumstances and condition. He was, he said, one of a party of six students, three of them noble, and the other three serving lads in attendance on them. He, as one of the latter, had been taking his turn in going round the country to collect food for the other five, when he was so unlucky as not only to lose the day's pittance, but also to break the borrowed vessel in which it had been contained. The king heard his tale with interest, repaired his loss, and helped to forward the career of a lad who grew up to be the great scholar St. Adamnan, the holy and learned Abbot of Iona. Such was one side of Irish life, while the other consisted of rapine, slaughter, and the harrying by one petty monarch or chief of the subjects and dominions of the other.

In still greater contrast with the violence and anarchy of civil society was the picture presented by the great monasteries, with their hundreds and thousands of monks peacefully pursuing their avocation of teachers and evangelists. That of Bangor on Carrickfergus Lough, sheltered a community of 3000, and its first Abbot, St. Comgall, by whom it was founded in the middle of the sixth century, was said to have established a hundred religious houses, and to have had 40,000 monks under his jurisdiction. His numerous foundations were doubtless modelled, like those of his contemporary, St. Columba of Iona, on the Celtic tribal system, the abbot taking the place of the chief, and the community that of the muintar, or clan. The fact that his early life, like that of another great founder, St. Ignatius, had been passed in military service, enabled him to maintain in the cloister the discipline of the camp. Although his own wanderings were, in accordance with the advice of others, confined to the British Isles, he transmitted to his disciples that desire for the foreign apostolate which it was not

given to him to gratify in his own person, and gave the first impulse to the missionary spirit of the early Irish Church. The strength and importance of the movement may be measured by the number and dignity of the foreign foundations which it originated. Thus, to enumerate only those of the first rank, twenty-nine great monasteries in France, eighteen in Germany and Switzerland, five in the Netherlands, and four in Italy, owed their origin to wandering Irish monks, who revived by the ardour of their newly-kindled faith, the flame then burning low in the lands where it had been earlier lit. For it was in the period covered by the preaching of St. Patrick, that had occurred the ruin of the existing social organism brought about by the collapse of the Roman Empire. The complete centralisation of all military power under the imperial system left the provinces utterly helpless for self-defence, when the legions, which knew no master save Cæsar, dissolved, like a spell-banned host, with the obliteration of that talismanic name. The cataclysm that followed brought the Church face to face with a new order of things while herself enfeebled by the universal calamities which struck at the roots of all human institutions. The secular clergy, recruited from a decimated population, were too few in numbers to cope with the victorious advance of Arianism on the one hand and idolatry on the other. The conversion of Clovis left the bulk of his subjects pagan, and the Franks of Belgium remained so until the eighth century. The Armorican Peninsula was a heathen country until after the death of St. Patrick, and idol worship subsisted in Switzerland down to a still later date. Material civilisation had perished equally with religion throughout great part of the Roman dominions, and in Gaul the primeval forest was again encroaching on the cultivated land, burying under a tangle of bush and scrub the sites of flourishing towns and cities. The commercial highway from the Loire to the Rhone traversed the great desert of the south, and six similar wildernesses existed in Burgundy, or northern Gaul, at the close of the sixth century. That mythical wonderland, the great forest of the Ardennes, extended across the Franco-Flemish frontier, and Switzerland was wrapped in a shaggy mantle of wood whose memory still survives in such names as Grindelwald, Unterwalden, and many others.

It was on this ruin of the ancient world, that the monastic orders began to rebuild from its foundations the shattered fabric of society. The movement initiated in the south, amid the din and turmoil of conflicting waves of barbarism, had its counterpart on the verge of the weltering Atlantic surges, for Columban, born in the year of Benedict's death, was mainly instrumental in carrying on the work of the Solitary of Subiaco. Starting from the great monastery of Bangor, with twelve companions, he began that series of apostolic wanderings, through which Miss Stokes has tracked his footsteps with such loving fidelity. Her rare qualifications as an archæologist especially versed in the antiquities of her native land, have enabled her to revivify the legendary figures of the historic past, while her command of foreign languages comes into play in tracing out the memories left by her fellow-countrymen in other lands than their own. Her skilled pencil, again, co-operates with her pen in reproducing for her readers the scenes and monuments of their labours, in the series of illustrations which add so much to the interest and value of her volumes. But above all, she writes in a spirit of love and reverence for the holy men whose lives she has undertaken to elucidate, which colours with a glow of personal feeling all her narrative of their actions. The two works placed at the head of this article, though published separately as the result of two independent exploratory trips, are complementary to each other as studies of the same subject in France and Italy respectively. The method followed by the author is to prefix in each case to the account of her own researches, the life of their subject compiled from the most authentic sources. She then goes on to give the fruits of her pilgrimage, in descriptions of the existing memorials of the saint she treats of, the churches founded by him, the relics preserved in them, the pictures or bas-reliefs commemorative of his acts. She thus follows the track of St. Columban to the slopes of the Vosges, the scene of his first missionary labours abroad. Gaul was then divided into Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy, ruled respectively by Chilperic, Sigisbert, and Gontran, the three sons of Clothair. In or about the year 574, the King of Austrasia, having been converted by Columban, bestowed on him, at his own request, a vast desert

tract on the confines of Burgundy and Austrasia, where is now the western border of Alsace. Here all traces of Gallo-Roman civilisation had been obliterated by the passage of successive hordes of barbarians, and the wolf and bear made their lairs where art and luxury had had their homes under Latin domination. Relics of this past still survive in the shape of statuary dug up on the site of the baths of Luxeuil, whose waters were noted for their virtue long before Julius Cæsar, in the year 58 B.C., reached this part of Gaul, and chose the fertile plains of Sequania, now Haute Saone, as winter quarters for his legions.

The Roman dominion [our author reminds us] then commencing in Gaul, lasted for about five centuries. The native proprietors of the land were renowned for their wealth, their rich possessions stretching from the mountains of the Jura, in smiling plains watered by broad rivers, and beautiful in their varied culture. In the second and third centuries, Christianity slowly penetrated to these districts, and insensibly extended its branches to Autun, Besançon, Dijon, Langres, Chalons, Toul, Metz, Trèves and Strasburg. Although at first Rome ruled by the sword alone, yet the Sequanais were gradually won over, more by the softening effect of civilisation than by arms, while the Romans associated them with them in the rights of citizens, and in political dignity, even opening to them a seat in the Senate. The first half of the long period was comparatively prosperous and happy, but the second was one long series of disasters following on the Germanic invasions. The progress of Christianity was arrested and all development paralysed. In the second half of the third century [260-268] the Rhine was crossed by the Barbarians, and all the provinces on the borders of the river, especially Sequania, were devastated. Then, A.D. 275-276, seventy-five Gaulish cities fell before Germanic tribes, who for two years unceasingly ravaged the country. A.D. 293-297 came another swarm of Germans, who were met at Langres and afterwards at the field of Windisch, by the Emperor, Constantius Chlorus. In the years, 304, 350, 355, and 357, successive invasions took place, when Besançon was ruined, Sequania depopulated, and the enemy penetrated to Lyons. In 378 the lands of Sequania are described as one vast solitude, in which no traces of the reign of the Emperors was to be found. Two more invasions followed, and then the advance of Attila dealt the final blow to the province of Sequania.

On the track of the Hun civilisation withered from off the face of the land, churches and dwellings were alike razed to the ground, the priests perished together with their flocks, and paganism reasserted its dominion over the ground lost to Christianity. To the Irish monk was due the first attempt at

restoration after this crowning disaster, and his famous foundations of Luxeuil, Fontaines, Annegray and Lure, were built on sites where the wilderness had usurped the place of culture and habitation. Full justice is done by our author to the part played by the monks in the task of reclamation.

The lives of these monks [she says] were not solely devoted to works of piety, they spread abroad knowledge and learning and arts, and contributed in many ways to the temporal well-being of the state. The art of silk-weaving, so useful throughout Europe, and especially in Italy, was carried from India by certain monks, who brought the first silkworms from thence and taught the people this manufacture. Agriculture also owes its progress to the monks; it was they who first brought the knowledge of this art to bear upon the most barren mountain side, and practised it in the thickest forest, teaching how such lands could be made useful, and adapting the various seeds and plants of foreign countries to the soil. Where they could not sow grain, they planted vines, and from hill to hill they cultivated olives; where fruit trees would not grow, they planted chestnuts, and their forests of pine-trees reached to the very summits of the mountains. Stagnant marshes were drained, and the poorest lands were fertilised by these monks, and ground uninhabitable through miasma has been rendered healthy through their means. The mountains of Grenoble in France, and of the Great St. Bernard, are evidence of this, not to mention Alvernia, Camaldoli, and Vallombrosa in Tuscany.

The moral influence of Columban was shown by the eagerness of the young Frankish nobles to enter his monasteries, in which the number of his disciples was sufficiently great to enable him to organise the *Laus Perennis*, or perpetual prayer, unceasingly kept up by relays of monks relieving each other at intervals.

The intrigue which led to his banishment from Austrasia after twenty years' apostolate, was due, like the condemnation of the Precursor of Christianity, to the resentment of a woman at an attempt to reform the royal morals. In his case, however, it was the grandmother of the young monarch, the fierce and imperious Brunehild, who saw in any counter-influence for good a danger to her own dominion over the mind of the weakling, whom she ruled without difficulty through his vices.

Columban, become a wanderer once more, passed through Switzerland, overthrowing the Pagan temples, and leaving his follower St. Gall, to found there the famous monastery called after his name. Crossing the Alps, he repaired to the court of Milan, where he was well received by the Lombard King,

Agilulph, and his consort Theodolinda. But despite the task of combating the Lombard heresy, which here gave congenial scope to his fiery spirit, his austere vocation drove him into the wilderness once more. Having obtained a grant of un-reclaimed land in the Apennines near Piacenza, he gathered about him a handful of disciples, and engaged in the arduous labours which resulted in the establishment of his last great foundation, the monastery of Bobbio. Miss Stokes' pilgrimage to the spot was rewarded by the discovery of many interesting records of his life and death, as well as of those of Saints Cummian and Attala, two other Irish bishops, who, like him, found their career of usefulness in exile. The cave of St. Columban, where he sought retirement from the distractions even of monastic life, is still shown, together with a gigantic hand-print on the mountain side, said to have been impressed by him, and credited with healing virtue by the peasantry of the district. The church, of which he is titular, contains his sarcophagus adorned with a series of archaic bas-reliefs, and in the sacristy are preserved his bell of the old Irish pattern, his knife, and the rude wooden bowl from which he drank. These were the treasures bequeathed by the great Irish Abbot to the convent where he breathed his last in the year 615.

From a purely archæological point of view none of Miss Stokes' researches had a more interesting result than her identification of the old well of the monastery with the one specially mentioned in the original charter of King Agilulph, dated more than twelve hundred years ago. For this venerable document has a singular stipulation granting to Columban one half of a well, of which the other half had been otherwise bestowed, and the former wall of the monastery still bisects the well, which projects from its inner side in a semi-circular tank, leaving the corresponding half on the outer side for the use of the town.

The Rule of St. Columban, merged within fifty years of his death in that of St. Benedict, was in most respects a modification of it, probably derived from that framed by St. Comgall for the parent monastery of Bangor. While the career of this Saint typifies the spirit of Irish monasticism in its adaptation to the wants of neighbouring countries, that of St. Finnian, or Finnbar, illustrates the services rendered by the Celtic

hierarchy to the bereaved churches on the continent, in filling up the vacancies left in the ranks of the secular clergy. Born about 500 A.D., the son of the reigning king of Ulster, San Frediano, as he was afterwards called, passed from the island monastery of St. Mochae in Carlingford Lough to the Candida Casa, or "White House" of St. Ninian on the Mull of Galloway, a structure famous as the first built of stone in the country, whose name still survives in that of Witherne, borne by the district in which it stood. Hence he started on his first pilgrimage to Rome, with a view to procuring a copy of St. Jerome's revised version of the Scriptures, as yet unknown in Ireland. Returning with this treasure to his native land, he assumed the rule of the monastery of Moville in the County Down, establishing there a celebrated school which subsisted for two centuries.

The motive of his second journey was probably to visit the shrines and holy places of Italy, amongst which were the hermitages on the Monte Pisano between Lucca and Pisa, sanctified by the memory of Sant' Antonino, San Giuliano, and many other holy anchorets. Desiring to emulate their life of austerity, he took up his abode in the grotto of the Rupe Cavo, a rock dwelling occupied by many of his predecessors. He was not, however, destined to be left long undisturbed in his retirement, for the fame of his sanctity having become diffused through the country, the people of Lucca, on the death of their bishop, in about 560 A.D., compelled him, with the support of the Papal authority, to assume the vacant office. His pastorate coincided with the terrible crisis of Italian history, when the Lombard invasion, supervening on the exhaustion of the country after the protracted Gothic wars, caused that state of desolation described in the letters of Gregory the Great. To rebuild on the wreck of society after these calamities was the task of the Irish bishop, and the construction of the city of Lucca, reduced to ruins by the Arian conquerors, the conversion of many of their number to Latin Christianity, and the erection or restoration of twenty-eight churches throughout his extensive diocese, were among the fruits of his labours. His famous miracle of turning the course of the Serchio, so as to avert disastrous inundations, forms the subject of a picture by Filippo Lippi, and is recorded by St. Gregory on the authority

of the bishop of the adjoining diocese of Luna. However plausibly it may be explained as a figurative version of his construction of a canal, it was certainly believed to be supernatural by his contemporaries. This Hibernian Saint has left his name to one of the principal churches, not only of Lucca, but also of Florence, where it is extended to an entire quarter of the city.

Among other Irish missionaries treated of by Miss Stokes in her recent volume, is St. Fursa, the scene of whose apostolate lay in Picardy. Her discussion of his celebrated vision, and its place in the cycle of the *Divina Commedia*, might well form the subject of a separate treatise, as might also her chapters on early Irish ecclesiastical art and its relation to that of the continent. She shows how the close connection between Ireland and Gaul subsisted for several centuries, maintained, on the one hand, by the stream of missionaries poured out by the former, and on the other, by the contrary current of Gaulish students who flocked to the Irish schools. The high place held by these Celtic seats of learning is illustrated by a quotation from M. D'Arbois de Jubainville to the following effect :

What surprises us most about the Irish emigrants on the continent in the ninth century is that they knew Greek, and that they appear to have been the only people in Western Europe who did know it. They have Græco-Latin glossaries, Greek grammars, the books of the Bible in Greek accompanied by Latin translations ; one of them, Johannes Scotus Erigena, has translated the apocryphal works of Dionysius the Areopagite from Greek into Latin. He was a disciple of Plato, whose *Timæus* he appears to have read in the original text ; and he has founded a system of philosophy as astonishing for its time, as it is dangerous for its temerity, on the doctrines of this celebrated Greek writer. It was considered good taste among the Irish and a few other people also at this period, to scatter Greek words throughout the Latin text which they composed. J. Scotus was bolder than this ; he wrote verses entirely in Greek.

This early reign of culture and erudition among the Western Gael lasted until Irish society, in its turn, came to be pulverised by the plough and harrow of barbaric invasion. The part of destroyers played by the Germanic tribes in continental Europe, was here enacted no less efficaciously by the Danes and Northmen, who ravaged Ireland with fire and sword

during the whole of the ninth and tenth centuries. When the Irish Arthur, the half-historical, half-legendary Brian Boru, appeared as a deliverer, who smote

The Godless hosts
Of heathen swarming o'er the Northern Sea;

it was too late to repair the intellectual ruin they had wrought. The faith, indeed, remained to Ireland, an indestructible inheritance, but the visible glory of art and letters that had irradiated its first spring had perished so utterly from her soil that its very memory seems now an all but incredible tradition.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

ART. VI.—ONE OF CANON GORE'S DISSERTATIONS.

Dissertations on Subjects Connected with the Incarnation. By CHARLES GORE, M.A., Canon of Westminster, of the Community of the Resurrection, Radley. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1895. Pp. 323.

THESE dissertations are three in number. The first deals with the "Virgin birth of Our Lord"; the second with the "Consciousness of Our Lord in His mortal life"; the third is entitled "Transubstantiation and Nihilianism." We propose to give some account of the second dissertation.

"Any writer," says Canon Gore, in his introduction to this dissertation, "who cares for Catholic sentiment and traditional reverence . . . must approach this subject with great unwillingness." Canon Gore approaches the subject without the least sign of unwillingness. But then, he certainly does not care for Catholic sentiment. Whether he cares for "traditional reverence" or not we are not prepared to say. That he does not care for the reverence due to tradition his dissertation only too clearly proves. "This is not a question," says Canon Gore, "which ought to be encountered on the road to orthodoxy." There is no reason why this question rather than any other should not be encountered on the road towards orthodoxy. But Canon Gore is evidently thinking less of the question than of the answer he proposes to give to it. We can assure him that on whatever other road that answer be encountered, it certainly will not be encountered on the road towards orthodoxy. "Its logical place," continues Canon Gore, "is, I venture to think, that in which I have tried, summarily, to treat it in the *Bampton Lectures* of 1891—*i e.*, after faith in the Incarnation has been established." After faith in the Incarnation has been established, Canon Gore's answer to the question is to be accepted, but only that faith in the Incarnation may be diminished. Canon Gore does not repudiate this inference. "Nor shall we be surprised," he says, "if more accurate investigations require in us some change of mind, not in the region of our central

faith, but in its more outlying districts." However, if we may believe Canon Gore, this change of mind, or change of faith (from the quotation just given the phrases would seem to be of identical value to Canon Gore) is easily effected. "It requires," he says, "only a little thought to see that the belief that God is incarnate in Jesus Christ does not carry with it to any tolerably cautious mind one certain and necessary conclusion, *à priori*, as to the question of the consciousness of the incarnate person." Canon Gore's dissertation is long, but we shall search it in vain for that "little thought" which alone is required "to see that the belief," &c.

The first statement that Canon Gore makes of his position runs as follows :

In a certain aspect, indeed, the Incarnation is the folding round the Godhead of the veil of the humanity, to hide its glory, but it is much more than this. It is a ceasing to exercise, at least in a certain sphere, and *so far as human thought can attain*, some natural prerogatives of the divine existence (p. 90).

Canon Gore has seen fit to italicise the words "*so far as human thought can attain*." Frequently, throughout the dissertation, he manifests *confusion* of thought. Here he singles out for especial notice words which indicate his *obscurity* of thought. And how does the passage just quoted compare with this other passage ?

And are we not helped . . . by reflecting that the attributes of God, on account of the perfection of His personal unity, are not (so to speak) separable from one another or from His personality, but are identically one (p. 219) ?

If the attributes of God are identical with each other and with the divine personality, how can there be cessation of exercise on the part of *some* of the "natural prerogatives of the divine existence" without cessation of exercise on the part of all ?

A little later we come to a distincter statement :

Thus, if we express this in human language, we are forced to assert that within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life, He did, and as it would appear habitually—doubtless by the voluntary action of His own self-limiting and self-restraining love—cease from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience (p. 94).

And developing this last declaration, Canon Gore says:

Now, in His glory, we must conceive that the manhood subsists under conditions of Godhead, "the glory of God"; but formerly, during His mortal life and within its sphere, the Godhead was energising under conditions and limitations of manhood (p. 95).

Canon Gore would have done well to have omitted this explanation. His logic or his faith is at fault here as elsewhere. If for the Godhead to energise under conditions of manhood involves the laying aside of omniscience by the Godhead, clearly for the manhood to subsist under conditions of Godhead involves the taking up of omniscience by the manhood.

Yet another statement of Canon Gore's position :

It is no doubt true that as God He possessed potentially at every moment the divine as well as the human consciousness and nature. But the self-sacrifice of the Incarnation appears to have lain in great measure, so far as human words can express it, in His refraining from the divine mode of consciousness within the sphere of His human life, that He might really enter into human experience (p. 97).

Is there in the whole range of theological literature such a statement as this, that God possesses *potentially* the divine consciousness and nature? Yet, absurd though the statement be, it is absolutely necessary for Canon Gore's contention. If Our Lord, as God, of necessity *actually* possessed the divine consciousness at every moment, *cadit quaestio*, He can lay it aside only on the supposition that, of necessity, it is only *potentially* possessed. But if He can lay aside the divine consciousness because, of necessity, it is only *potentially* possessed, for the same reason He can lay aside the divine nature, for that is ranked by Canon Gore with the divine consciousness as being *potentially* possessed. Once more, is it Canon Gore's logic or his faith that is at fault? Does Canon Gore really believe that Our Lord could have laid aside the divine nature, or is this absurd consequence of his own reasoning repudiated by Canon Gore? Shall we seek light on the matter from a passage already quoted?

And are we not helped . . . by reflecting that the attributes of God, on account of the perfection of His personal unity, are not (so to speak) separable from one another or from His personality, but are identically one (p. 219)?

Is this reflection consistent with the belief that Our Lord could lay aside His divine nature? But then, is it not equally inconsistent with the belief that He could lay aside His divine consciousness? But, really, is it inconsistent with one belief or the other? We must not forget that momentous "so to speak."

Canon Gore's lengthy dissertation contains three chapters. The first is entitled, "The view of Our Lord's consciousness during His human and mortal life which is presented in the New Testament." This chapter contains four sections. The first section is entitled "The Evidence of the Gospels." In this section, perhaps more than elsewhere, Canon Gore confuses the real question at issue. His contention is that Our Lord, "within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life," did "cease from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience" (p. 94). Canon Gore, as we have seen, professes respect for the "logical place" of things. Surely the "logical place" for the distinct enunciation of his thesis would occur before the presentation of the evidence alleged on behalf of the thesis. But Canon Gore gives us the "evidence" first and the enunciation of the thesis last. We have reason to complain of this. Had the thesis been distinctly enunciated beforehand, it would be apparent to the most careless reader that the "evidence" which Canon Gore collects from the Gospels is beside the point. Let us go through "The Evidence of the Gospels."

Canon Gore infers from the Gospel narrative that, in His early years, Our Lord "was taught as the young are taught" (p. 77). Granted; but what is this to the purpose? He admits that Our Lord possessed, even as a child, a "consciousness of His unique sonship . . . but," he continues, "that consciousness of a divine sonship did not, we are led to suppose, interfere with His properly human growth" (p. 78). Confusion again. What has this to do with the thesis? On the following page Canon Gore admits that it is not possible for any one who accepts, even generally, the historical character of the Synoptic Gospels and of St. John's to doubt that the "pre-eminent dignity of the person of Jesus . . . carried with it throughout Our Lord's ministerial life a consciousness

of properly divine sonship." Now for the adversative and the confusion again. "But this consciousness of divine sonship is represented as co-existing with a really human development of life" (p. 79). What has this to do with the thesis? "It is surely beyond question," says Canon Gore, "that Our Lord is represented in the Gospels as an infallible no less than a sinless teacher." Now for adversative and confusion. "But infallibility is not omniscience" (p. 80). What is this to the point? And how could Our Lord in human words give expression to omniscience? How could human minds receive omniscience when expressed? "Our Lord frequently exhibits a supernatural knowledge, insight, and foresight." Now for adversative and confusion. "But all such supernatural illumination is, if of higher quality, yet analogous to that vouchsafed to Prophets and Apostles" (p. 81). Clearly this has no bearing on the thesis of our author; unless, indeed, Canon Gore would have us infer from Our Lord's omitting to do what is impossible to God, *i.e.*, the expressing of omniscience in human words and the conveying of omniscience to human minds, that Our Lord was not omniscient.

Canon Gore next groups together under four heads the "evidence" for the limitations of Our Lord's knowledge. (1) Our Lord "expresses surprise on many occasions, and, therefore, we must believe, really felt it; and on other occasions He asks for information and receives it" (p. 81). And some of the questions asked by Our Lord "represent a natural need of information" (p. 82). Supposing that we granted all this instead of denying it, what help does it give to Canon Gore's thesis? What more need it prove than ignorance on the part of Our Lord's human nature? Though we deny that it proves as much as that. (2) Our Lord

expressly declared, as St. Matthew as well as St. Mark assures us, that of the day and hour of His second coming no one knew except the Father, "not even the angels of Heaven, neither the Son"; and we cannot hold this declaration apart from the other indications that are given us of a limited human consciousness (pp. 83, 84)

We are so pleased at getting something like an argument from Canon Gore, at last, that we are tempted to leave unnoticed the confusion of the phrase, "limited *human* consciousness."

Now let us examine the argument and see what support it gives to Canon Gore. In a footnote upon the text just referred to Canon Gore says :

It has been suggested that ignorance is here predicted (? predicated) of "the Son," used absolutely, not of the incarnate Son in the period of His humiliation merely. This seems to me a greatly overstrained argument. The Son was speaking of Himself as He then was" (p. 84).

Canon Gore rejects, then, the interpretation which predicates ignorance of the Son, considered absolutely. In other words, he rejects the Arian interpretation. He does not, indeed, reject it with as much earnestness as we should like. "This seems to me a greatly overstrained argument" is a somewhat airy way of setting aside an interpretation which is professedly inconsistent with belief in the Trinity. Still, he does reject it. He admits, then, that the words "neither the Son" are to be interpreted with a qualification. Why then does he not interpret with one of the qualifications recognised by the Church? Canon Gore complains that the bulk of ecclesiastical writers "have at best but taken particular texts and explained them in the light of an *a priori* assumption as to the effect of the Godhead on the manhood" (p. 202). Surely Canon Gore is here explaining a text in the light of an *a priori* assumption as to the effect of the manhood on the Godhead. He is qualifying the clause "neither the Son" so as to suit it to his own peculiar Kenotic theory. Let him do one or other of three things. Let him interpret absolutely with the Arians, or qualify with the universal Church; or, if he is determined to qualify for himself, let him give some reason for his peculiar qualification; some shred or jot or tittle of argument to vindicate it. He does none of these things.

3. Canon Gore finds additional "arguments" for his theory in the Gospel of St. John. "Unmistakably is Our Lord there put before us as the eternal Son of the Father incarnate." Now for adversative and confusion. "But it also appears that the Son of the Father is living and teaching under restrained human conditions" (p. 85). Of course our Lord was teaching under human conditions. How could men otherwise be taught? But what has this to do with the thesis?

Thus He "speaks the words of God" indeed infallibly, but it is, as

St. John tells us, because God "giveth not the spirit by measure," that is, because of the complete endowment of His manhood (p. 85).

In a footnote Canon Gore remarks :

What the exact content of the full human endowment would have been we cannot say *a priori*. But it was a human endowment, an endowment of our Lord as man, and suggests therefore properly human limitations.

In this remarkable note Canon Gore informs us that a human endowment is a human endowment, and having committed himself to this statement he relapses into confusion again. What have the human endowments of our Lord, the endowments of our Lord as man, to do with the thesis of Canon Gore ?

(4) Now comes the Achilles of Canon Gore's arguments :

Lastly, there is an argument from silence coincident with these indications. Our Lord exhibits insight and foresight of prophetic quality. He exhibits towards all facts of physical nature the receptivity of a perfect sonship [*sic*], so that, for example, the laws of natural waste and growth are pointed out by Him with consummate accuracy in the parable of the sower. But He never enlarges our stock of natural knowledge, physical or historical, out of the divine omniscience (p. 87).

Our Lord never enlarges our stock of natural knowledge, physical or historical. *Ergo*, He is not omniscient. Q. E. D. Was there ever reasoning so futile as this ?

In the next section, Canon Gore betakes himself for "evidence" to St. Paul :

In a passage of the Epistle to the Philippians, he (St. Paul) is holding up our Lord in His Incarnation as an example of humility, and this leads him to give, as we may say, a certain theory of it. He describes it as a self-emptying. Christ Jesus pre-existed, he declares, in the form of God. The word "form" transferred from physical shape to spiritual type describes—as St. Paul uses it, alone or in composition, with uniform accuracy—the permanent characteristics of a thing. . . . By an act of deliberate self-abnegation, He so emptied Himself as to assume the permanent characteristics of the human or servile life. He took the form of a servant (p. 89).

Very well stated. The full extent, then, of the self-emptying, "He so emptied Himself," lay in this, that Our Lord assumed the finite.

Not only so, but He was made in outward appearance like other men, and was found in fashion as a man; that is, in the transitory quality of our manhood. The "form," the "likeness," the "fashion" of manhood, He took them all.

Precisely; but how does this help the thesis?

Canon Gore quotes another passage from St. Paul: "Ye know the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He beggared Himself, that ye through His poverty might become rich."

This is how St. Paul [says Canon Gore] interprets our Lord's coming down from Heaven, and it is manifest that it expresses something very much more than the mere addition of a manhood to the Godhead. In a certain sense, indeed, the Incarnation is the folding round the Godhead of the veil of the humanity—to hide its glory, but it is much more than this. It is a ceasing to exercise, at least in a certain sphere, and so far as human thought can attain, some natural prerogatives of the divine existence; it is a coming to exist for love of us under conditions of being not natural to Godhead (p. 90).

On this interpretation of Canon Gore we remark: (1) The words "He beggared Himself" are evidently identical in sense with the words "He emptied Himself" of the former quotation. Now if the "self-emptying" lay, according to the explanation given by Canon Gore himself, perhaps in spite of himself, in the assumption of the finite, "He so emptied Himself as to assume the permanent characteristics of the human or servile life;" why should the self-beggary consist in the ceasing to exercise "some natural prerogatives of the divine existence?" (2) There is nothing in St. Paul's words to indicate that any one set of the "natural prerogatives of the divine existence," rather than another, ceased from exercise. (3) If the "self-beggary" indicates the cessation of exercise on the part of any of the "natural prerogatives of the divine existence," it equally, and still more clearly, indicates the cessation of exercise on the part of all. (4) The words "so far as human thought can attain," do not explain their relation to their context, and are not in the least justified by the text under citation. (5) The words "It is a coming to exist for love of us under conditions of being not natural to Godhead," which are the climax of Canon Gore's interpretation, throw us back into confusion again.

In the third section Canon Gore maintains that an absolute *κένωσις* is not affirmed in the New Testament. He states that the language which St. Paul uses of the Son in relation to the universe as its creator and immanent principle of life and order, "in whom all things consist," is such "as to make it almost impossible to imagine that St. Paul conceived it to be interrupted by the Incarnation" (p. 92). Canon Gore then finds himself constrained to admit that the Son's relationship to the world, even during the period of the Incarnation, involved the fulfilment of functions which could not be exercised without the aid of omniscience. He would seem to resent being forced into this view. He would almost seem to suggest that if the Apostle had given more thought to the matter he might have expressed himself differently. "How much," he says,

St. Paul reflected upon the relation of the "self-emptying" of the Son, which he postulates in other epistles, to the permanent and cosmic function we cannot say (p. 92).

Surely this is a delightful touch. But we must take St. Paul's words as they stand, and thus

we must suppose that in some manner the humiliation and the self-limitation of the incarnate state was compatible with the continued exercise of divine and cosmic functions in another sphere" (p. 93).

In the next section, Canon Gore states his "provisional conclusion." The substance of this is that "within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life" Our Lord ceased "from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience" (p. 94). This provisional conclusion, Canon Gore informs us, may be further defined by contrasting it with other well-known views.

It is opposed, then, on the one side, to the view which I must call the *à priori* dogmatical and unhistorical view that Christ's human mind was, from the first moment of the Incarnation, flooded with complete knowledge and with the glory of the beatific vision; . . . it is opposed, on the other, to the *à priori* humanitarian and also unhistorical view that the Son in becoming man ceased to be conscious of His own eternal sonship, and became not merely a human but a fallible and peccable teacher (pp. 95, 96).

What Canon Gore calls a "further definition" is nothing more than a repetition of confusion. Canon Gore's thesis is not that "Christ's human mind" was wanting in "complete knowledge" and without "the glory of the beatific vision," but that "within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life" Our Lord ceased "from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience." What has this to do with "Christ's human mind?" When shall we escape from this hopeless confusion?

We pass on now to the second chapter of Canon Gore's dissertation. This chapter, which is represented by Canon Gore as exhibiting the "teaching of the Church on the subject," contains a very exhaustive refutation of Canon Gore's theory. Father after Father is quoted by Canon Gore, but each Father, as he appears, gives witness against him. Canon Gore is aware of this. "The great bulk of the language of ecclesiastical writers," he says, "is, it is true, against us" (p. 202). "In the special subject of this inquiry we do not see them (the Fathers) at their best" (p. 214).

The first quotation that appears in this chapter is taken from Cassian and runs as follows:

Hoc enim quod ex carne atque in carne venit, ortus ejus fuit, non imminutio; et natus tantum est non demutatus; quia licet in forma Dei manens formam servi assumpserit, infirmitas tamen habitus humani non infirmavit naturam Dei.

"This passage from Cassian (de Incarn. vi. 19) may stand," says Canon Gore,

as an example of innumerable others from all periods of Christian theology. The Christian consciousness has, as a fact, from its beginning down to the Reformation, and for the most part since then, found it an inconceivable supposition that the cosmic functions of the Son, and His divine functions—such as His share in the eternal procession of the Holy Ghost—should be interrupted by the Incarnation (p. 98).

Here is another instance of Canon Gore's extraordinary confusion of mind. What is there in the quotation from Cassian that bears in any special way upon the "cosmic functions" and the "divine functions" of Our Lord? Cassian speaks *absolutely*:

ortus *non imminutio*; natus tantum *non demutatus* . . .
 licet in forma Dei *manens* formam servi assumpserit, infirmitas tamen
 habitus humani *non infirmavit* naturam Dei.

And this declaration of his, which, as Canon Gore rightly says, "may stand as an example of innumerable others from all periods of Christian theology," is a flat contradiction of Mr. Gore's thesis.

Of the writers that flourished from the beginning of Christianity down to the period of "mediæval and scholastic theology," Canon Gore quotes, in addition to Cassian, to mention them in the order chosen, for purposes of classification, by Canon Gore, St. Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, Proclus of Cyzicus, St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Basil, St. Ambrose, Ephraim Syrus, Didymus of Alexandria, St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, St. Hilary, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Eulogius of Alexandria, Leontius of Byzantium, Pope Gregory the Great, St. John Damascene, Agobard of Lyons. Of all these writers the only ones which Canon Gore ventures to claim as supporters of his opinion are Irenæus and Origen, and apparently also, though this would argue fresh confusion on his part, Theodoret and Leontius of Byzantium. Not only are all the remaining writers in the completest antagonism to him, but, moreover, most if not all of them refuse to admit that ignorance can be ascribed to the *human* nature of Our Lord.

Let us examine now the writers whom Canon Gore claims in his support. And let us take first Theodoret and Leontius. "Anti-Arian theology," says Canon Gore,

shows a rapid tendency to withdraw the admission of a human ignorance. . . . The tendency to explain away Our Lord's express words, which those theologians exhibit who are responsible for this withdrawal, meets in the East with at least one vigorous protest from Theodoret. In a phrase which commends itself to modern consciences he wrote, "If He knew the day and, wishing to conceal it, said He was ignorant, see what blasphemy is the result of this conclusion. 'Truth tells a lie' (pp. 130, 131).

In a note upon this passage of Theodoret, Canon Gore says :

The passage is an argument for the distinct reality of Our Lord's manhood from the phrases in the Gospels which attribute to Him prayer,

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ignorance, and the sense of being deserted by God. Such expressions cannot be attributed to the Word, Theodoret argues, but to the manhood which the Word assumed (p. 131).

“But,” continues Canon Gore,

the protest fell flat. Neither the interest in accurate exegesis, nor the enthusiasm for truth to fact as distinct from truth which is edifying, was adequate to sustain it (p. 132).

We remark on this : (1) So far as Canon Gore is claiming Theodoret as a supporter, to that extent he is guilty of confusion again. Theodoret does indeed assert that there was ignorance on the part of the human nature which the Word assumed. But he distinctly and expressly denies that there could be any ignorance on the part of the Word which assumed the human nature ; and in this he is in antagonism with Canon Gore. (2) Canon Gore informs us that “neither the interest in accurate exegesis, nor enthusiasm for truth to fact as distinct from truth which is edifying,” availed to win support for this theory of Theodoret. Since, then, Theodoret’s opinion is contradictory to Canon Gore’s, it follows, by Canon Gore’s own confession, that Canon Gore’s theory is contradicted by that “accurate exegesis,” and “truth to fact,” which he declares to be on the side of Theodoret’s theory.

“But the protest fell flat,” says Canon Gore, sadly. The Fathers would not admit ignorance of Our Lord even on the side of His human nature, for which alone Theodoret contended.

“The protest of Theodoret is reheard,” says Canon Gore, “in a remarkable phrase of a writer reckoned as Leontius of Byzantium.” Let us turn then to Leontius of Byzantium, as he appears in Canon Gore’s pages. Leontius, according to Canon Gore, was a champion of the Agnoetæ. Of this sect, Canon Gore says,

Its characteristic tenet was the limitation of Our Lord’s human knowledge, and its adherence to this was based upon the natural interpretation of the often-discussed passages of the Gospels, such as St. Mark xiii. 32 ; St. John xi. 34 (p. 153).

By “Our Lord’s human knowledge” Canon Gore means the knowledge Our Lord possessed as man, the knowledge possessed by the human nature of Christ. Canon Gore is at great pains

to make this clear, and, amongst other proofs of this, he quotes Leontius as saying

Now the Agnoetæ believe just as the Theodosians, with this difference, that the Theodosians deny that the humanity of Christ was ignorant, and the Agnoetæ affirm it (p. 157).

The characteristic tenet of the Agnoetæ was then, according to Canon Gore, the limitation of knowledge on the part of the human nature of Christ. Leontius then gives no support to Canon Gore. In the next place, this characteristic tenet of the Agnoetæ is declared by Canon Gore to be "based upon the natural interpretation" of St. Mark xiii. 32, viz., "But of that day or hour no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father." Here then, as in the case of his comments on Theodoret, we find Canon Gore contradicting himself and refuting his own interpretation. If the *natural* interpretation of St. Mark xiii. 32 be that Our Lord was limited in knowledge as to His human nature only, clearly the interpretation given by Canon Gore, viz., that Our Lord

within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life ceased from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience

is an unnatural interpretation ; as, indeed, on the face of it, it is.

And what was the attitude of the Church towards the Agnoetæ ? Let Canon Gore himself answer the question.

The Agnoetæ certainly formed a sect of their own, and were reckoned as heretics, with the special characteristic of affirming the limitation of knowledge in Christ.

If the Church in those days regarded the opinion of the Agnoetæ as heretical, how would it have regarded the opinion of Canon Gore ? Precisely as the Church in these days regards it now.

The "protest" of Theodoret, as we remember, "fell flat." The "protest" of Leontius had no better success. "Like Theodoret's in earlier days, the protest of Leontius against explaining away Our Lord's words is isolated" (p. 160). If history

shows any thing like a tendency to repeat itself, the "protest" now made by Canon Gore will be still more isolated.

Now we turn to Irenæus.

In order [says Canon Gore] that this human struggle may be believed to have been real, St. Irenæus postulates a *quiescence* of the divine word "while He was tempted and dishonoured and crucified and slain," as on the other hand, its co-operation with the man (or manhood) in "His victory and endurance, and goodness and resurrection, and ascension." Irenæus thus emphasises the reality of Our Lord's human experiences. And in accordance with this the reality of Our Lord's human ignorance (p. 110).

Irenæus, as quoted here by Canon Gore, says not a word about Our Lord's human ignorance. And if he did how would that help Canon Gore? Of course Our Lord's human experiences were real. But what is that to the purpose? As to the *quiescence* of the Word "while He was tempted and dishonoured and crucified and slain," of which St. Irenæus speaks, what is this but a paraphrase of St. John x. 18: "No man taketh it (my life) away from me, but I lay it down of myself?"

"Then," says Canon Gore, "he (Irenæus) rebukes the would-be omniscience of the Gnostics."

Unreasonably puffed up, you audaciously declare that you know the unutterable mysteries of God; unreasonably—seeing that even the Lord, the very Son of God, allowed that the Father alone knew the actual day and hour of judgment, saying plainly *of that day and hour knoweth no man, neither the Son, except the Father only*. If therefore the Son did not blush to refer to the Father the knowledge of that day, but said what was true; neither let us blush to reserve to God those points in inquiries which are too high for us. For no one is above his master. . . . For if any one ask the reason why the Father, though in all things holding communion with the Son, was declared by the Lord alone to know the day and hour, He could not at present find one more suitable, or proper, or less perilous than this (for Our Lord is the only true master)—that we may learn through Him that the Father is over all. For *the Father, He says, is greater than I*. And that even in respect of knowledge the Father is put over (the Son) is announced to us by Our Lord, in order that we too, so long as we belong to the fashion of this world, may leave to God perfect knowledge and such investigations (as the Gnostics were presuming to undertake) (p. 111).

We add Canon Gore's remarks on this passage.

It might appear as if St. Irenæus attributed this ignorance to the Son

simply as Son ; but the phrase “ so long as we belong to the fashion of this world,” and a previous expression, “ while we are still in this world,” show that he was thinking of human ignorance generally, and therefore of Our Lord’s ignorance as belonging simply to that mortal state which He assumed in assuming humanity.

If Canon Gore’s inference had been “ and therefore of the ignorance of Our Lord’s human nature,” the inference would have been less startling from a logical, as well as a theological, point of view. “ To the *person* of the Son incarnate then,” continues Canon Gore, “ as He was among men, Irenæus certainly attributes limitations of knowledge ” (p. 112). Canon Gore seems to be unaware that whatever is attributed to either nature in Christ must be attributed to the person of Christ. A single perusal of the Apostles’ creed might have taught him this. If St. Irenæus had attributed ignorance to the human nature of Christ, of course he must have attributed ignorance to the person of Christ. But St. Irenæus, it seems to us, does not teach that even the human nature of Christ was ignorant. In any case, he does not support Canon Gore’s view. What does St. Irenæus say? That the words “ of that day and hour knoweth no man, neither the Son, except the Father only,” were spoken by Our Lord, and what He said was true. This surely does not help Canon Gore. Every one must say what St. Irenæus has said. The question is as to the *sense* in which Our Lord spoke the words. Now, St. Irenæus certainly does not interpret the words in the sense which Canon Gore attaches to them ; for (1) he declares that “ the Father was in *all* things holding communion with the Son ” *when the Son spoke the words*. He excludes, then, Canon Gore’s extraordinary theory as to the laying aside of omniscience by our Lord, “ within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life.” (2) He declares that questions like these as to the last day and hour are to be reserved to God. Would Canon Gore venture to say that Irenæus held that “ within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life ” Our Lord was not God? (3) He argues that if Our Lord referred the knowledge to the Father we too must refer the knowledge to God, “ for no one is above his master.” The words “ no one is above his master,” are an evident allusion to St. John xv. 20 : “ The servant is not

greater than his master. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you." Now, Our Lord spoke these words of Himself as *man*. (4) He quotes the text "The Father is greater than I," and adds that the text "of that day and hour," &c., proves that even in respect of knowledge the Father was greater than the Son. Now, the text, "the Father is greater than I," is commonly interpreted with reference to the human nature of Our Lord. Of course, it is open to Canon Gore to say that he himself interprets that text differently. But the question is not now of Canon Gore's interpretation, but of the interpretation of St. Irenæus. And till we have some reason to the contrary we must presume that St. Irenæus understood the words "the Father is greater than I" in the sense which the Church has commonly attached to them. But if St. Irenæus interprets these words with reference to the human nature of Our Lord, the inference is that he similarly interprets the words "of that day and hour," &c., which he regards as a special application of the former words. The words then in question, according to St. Irenæus, were spoken by Our Lord as *man*. Does St. Irenæus then hold that the words attribute *real* ignorance to Our Lord as *man*? There is nothing in his words to force us to this view. He simply states the fact of the ignorance. But whether Our Lord was ignorant as "speaking in the person of His Church," an interpretation of Our Lord's words which is called by Origen the "more celebrated" interpretation, or whether his ignorance was real St. Irenæus does not say. Origen's "more celebrated" interpretation would have quite sufficed for St. Irenæus' argument. If the Church were declared by Our Lord to be ignorant of the day and hour, the "would-be omniscience of the Gnostics" stands rebuked. But, in any case, Canon Gore's theory finds no support in Irenæus.

Next we turn to Origen.

After noticing [says Canon Gore] that this text serves to rebuke those who pretend to know too much about the last things, Origen . . . proceeds to give two main interpretations of the text. "De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli cælorum, neque Filius, nisi Pater solus." (1) Some [says Origen] will have the courage to attribute this to the proper human development ascribed to Our Lord by St. Luke (ii. 52). According to this interpretation, He, too, the man Christ Jesus, must wait His time for perfect knowledge (p. 115). (2) Origen, then [says Canon

Gore] gives another interpretation, which he describes as "more celebrated than the above." It is that Christ is speaking in the person of the Church. For while the Church, which is His body, does not know that day and hour, so long neither the Son Himself is said to know it, in order that he then may be understood to know when all His members also know (pp. 116, 117).

So far Origen gives no countenance to Canon Gore. But the Canon turns with a better heart to another passage. In this fresh passage Origen is considering how the words of the prophet (Jer. i. 6) "I am a child: I cannot speak," can be applied to Christ. He replies by referring to the testimony of the Gospel. "Jesus while yet a child, before He became a man, since He had 'emptied Himself,' is seen to 'advance.'" Now, no one who is already perfect advances, for to advance implies the need of advance. Therefore He advanced in stature, in wisdom, in favour with God and man. For, because He had emptied Himself in coming down to us, therefore, having emptied Himself, He proceeded to take again that of which He had emptied Himself, such self-emptying having been a voluntary act (p. 118). The last sentence is somewhat difficult to understand. But if Origen is teaching heresy here, it is certainly not the heresy of Canon Gore. Origen says that Our Lord "advanced in this mortal life by taking again that of which He had emptied Himself." Would Canon Gore say that our Lord advanced by resuming, in this mortal life, the exercise of "those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience," from which He had ceased "within the sphere and period of His incarnate and mortal life," because the exercise of those functions "would have been incompatible with a truly human experience"? We are describing a contradiction of unusually large proportions. But this contradiction Canon Gore would have to make his own before he could claim that Origen was supporting him here. But the truth is that, unless Origen is contradicting himself within the space of a very few lines, he is advocating neither the heresy of Canon Gore nor any other heresy, as is clear from the concluding words of the passage:

Subsisting in the majesty of the glory of God, He does not speak human words. He does not, as it were, know how to speak to those below. Therefore it is that when He comes into the human body, He says to the Father, "I cannot speak: I know, indeed, things too great for human

speech. But Thou wishest me to speak to men. I have not yet acquired human speech. I have 'Thy speech, I am 'Thy Word, I can speak to 'Thee; but I know not how to speak to men, for I am a child."

It would be difficult to imagine a more emphatic contradiction of Canon Gore's theory than is contained in these words of Origen.

Of all the ecclesiastical writers that flourished before the period of mediæval and scholastic theology, Irenæus and Origen, Theodoret and Leontius are the only ones to whom Canon Gore looks for support. And we have seen what manner of support they give him. That "the mediæval and scholastic theology" is against him scarcely needs the admission which Canon Gore makes of this fact. We pass on, then, to the section entitled "The Theology of the Reformation."

No one can interpret the Reformation rightly [says Canon Gore] on its religious side, who does not bear in mind the existence of a wide-spread and passionate desire to get back to the Christ of the Gospels and to the primitive Church (pp. 180, 181).

This "wide-spread and passionate desire" was not long in bearing fruit. The writers quoted by Canon Gore in this section are Luther, Gess, Godet, Thomasius, Delitzsch, Dr. Fairbairn, and Dorner. Let us see what fruit it bore in the case of these theologians.

"In the case of Luther," says Canon Gore, "this return to the Christ of the Gospels at once produced a belief in properly human limitations of knowledge in our Lord's manhood" (p. 181). It produced at once other beliefs, too, in the case of Luther. "His (Luther's) language," continues our author, "seems to postulate a separate personality for the human nature of Christ" (p. 181). But this Luther, who returned "to the Christ of the Gospels was, it appears, a very versatile heretic, for," continues Canon Gore, "this quasi-Nestorian tendency, however, was checked in Luther by the sacramental controversy" (p. 181). "This" (the sacramental controversy), says Canon Gore, "led to a development of thought in a Monophysite rather than a Nestorian direction, and this rival tendency, which renders Luther's Christology very difficult to understand as a whole, became dominant in the Lutheran schools' (p. 182). What was the upshot of it all? Let Canon Gore

inform us. "It resulted in the formation of a Christology based on ubiquitarianism, which Dr. A. B. Bruce, without undue severity, pronounces to be, to an amazing extent, 'artificial, unnatural, and incredible'" (p. 182). Such were the first fruits of the "wide-spread and passionate desire to get back to the Christ of the Gospel and the primitive Church," which, as we learn from Canon Gore, was the characteristic of the "Reformation."

Let us, in quest of other fruits, consult the remaining theologians quoted by Canon Gore in this section on the "Theology of the Reformation."

Gess and Godet maintain that "the eternal generation of the Son, and the procession of the Holy Spirit through the Son were suspended from the time of the Incarnation to that of the glorification of Christ" (p. 188). Gess "further maintains that the Word, thus depotentiated, took the place of the human soul in Jesus, as actually having become a human soul" (p. 188). What is Canon Gore's attitude towards these views? He declares himself unable to accept them. But he does not very strongly reject them. "I hope," he says, "in what was said in the first part of this essay, I have saved myself from the imputation of underrating the large element of truth there is in such views as these" (p. 188). Canon Gore certainly has saved himself from that imputation. We remember his appearing to resent that passage of St. Paul which is incompatible with the theory of an absolute *κένωσις*. We remember his appearing to suggest that if St. Paul had given more thought to the matter he might have expressed himself differently. And now that Canon Gore returns to the subject, he commences to doubt whether the doctrine of Gess and Godet *really* is incompatible with the teaching of St. Paul. At least he declares the incompatibility in very subdued tones. "There is *reason to believe*" (the italics are ours), says Canon Gore, "that the Apostolic writers contemplated the continuance of the divine and cosmic functions through the Incarnation" (p. 206).

The next theory described by Canon Gore in his "Theology of the Reformation" section is that maintained by Thomasius, Delitzsch, and Dr. Fairbairn. This theory, as much as that of Godet, "postulates that Christ did absolutely abandon His relation of equality with God and His functions in the

universe" (p. 192). Then comes the theory of "the double life of the Word . . . which is expressed most formally by the Danish Bishop Martensen." Suffice it to say of this view that Canon Gore practically identifies it with his own (p. 215), while Canon Bright ("Waymarks in Church History," p. 389), identifies it with that of Godet. Finally comes Dorner's which Canon Gore "fears" is "a little too pronounced—too Nestorian in sound."

Such then is the "Theology of the Reformation," and such are the fruits of the "wide-spread and passionate desire to get back to the Christ of the Gospel and the primitive Church," which was the characteristic, as we learn from Canon Gore, of the "Reformation."

In the third and last chapter, Canon Gore discusses the relation of his theory to Church authority and its rationality. We have seen what was the attitude of the Fathers towards our author's theory. But the Fathers do not count for much when opposed to Canon Gore. Their theology is "defective" on these occasions; "we do not see them at their best." It is to the Œcumenical Councils that Canon Gore makes his appeal, not indeed for support—his modesty forbids this—but to argue that their dogmatic decisions are not inconsistent with his theory. In short, he is on his defence. Let us hear his defence. "The decree of Nicaea," says Canon Gore, "asserts the Son consubstantial and co-equal with the Father; it goes on by way of appendix to deny Him to be changeable or alterable" (p. 208). Our author inquires if this decree can be reconciled with his own theory, and decides that it can. First, as to the *unchangeableness* of the Son, defined by Nicaea. "The council had in view," says Canon Gore, "only *moral* alterability." Suppose that we granted this to Canon Gore: he still has to reconcile his theory with the *absolute* unchangeableness of the Son, defined by Chalcedon.

The Nicene anathema indeed [says Dr. Bright] was aimed principally at the notion that the Son of God could ever have been morally changeable; but the Apollinarian controversy sharpened the Church's protest against any alterableness in Deity; any conversion or mutation of God-head . . . and so the Council of Chalcedon, while defining the union of two natures in the Lord's one person as existing "without confusion" and "without severance," does not omit to say also "without change."

Such [continues Dr. Bright] is the mind of the ancient Church, and such also is the mind of typical Anglican theologians ("Waymarks in Church History," pp. 387, 388).

Canon Gore anticipated that the definition of Chalcedon would be urged against him. Forewarned, he is forearmed. Let us look at his defensive armour. "Even in regard to metaphysical alteration," he says, "it must be remembered that in the view here presented the limitation of which the Incarnate Son is the subject is regarded (1) as not effecting His essential being or operation in the universe"—which seems to us tantamount to pleading that his theory is not a complete but only a partial contradiction of Chalcedon—and "(2) As not imposed from without, but an act of His own power" (p. 208). Point number two does not mend matters. It is just as much opposed to Chalcedon as point number one.

Next as to the *consubstantiality* decreed by Nicaea.

Nor should it be left out of sight [says Canon Gore] that so far as the self-limitation of the Son, even within a certain sphere of operation, may be supposed to affect His essential consubstantiality with the Father, it is relative to that no less mysterious but also no less real act of self-denial on the part of the Father which the New Testament describes as His "giving up" or "giving" the Son. There is reciprocal self-sacrifice postulated alike in the Father and the Son (pp. 209, 210).

The substance of this ingenious argument seems to be that since the "self-limitation" of the Son was met by a "no less real act of self-denial on the part of the Father," the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, which might otherwise have been lost, was maintained. The "giving up" on the one side balanced the "giving up" on the other side. By an equal surrender equality was preserved. Comment here is unnecessary.

Canon Gore also quotes the definition of the Sixth Council :

We glorify in Our Lord Jesus Christ, one true God, two natural energies indissolubly, unalterably, unconfusedly, that is the divine energy and the human energy; as Leo the theologian most clearly says, "either form energises in fellowship with the other as is proper to itself, the Word working what belongs to the Word, and the body accomplishing what belongs to the body" (p. 211).

To ordinary minds it might possibly seem that this definition is not in all respects and from every point of view consistent with the theory that Our Lord "within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life" ceased "from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience." But if it does seem so to ordinary minds, so much the worse for ordinary minds. Between definition and theory there is perfect consistency. We have Canon Gore's word for it. He does not argue the point. It is too obvious to call for argument. He simply states it: "Such decisions are in no way dissonant with a view which," &c. (p. 211). Comment is equally unnecessary here.

Canon Gore next proceeds to show "the rationality of our conclusion." He brings four proofs. First proof: "Nothing that is a fact can be irrational, but many things that are facts are beyond the power of *human* conception" (p. 216). Nothing that is a fact can be irrational. But my theory represents a fact. *Ergo*. Canon Gore's first proof of the rationality of his theory is then his assumption of its truth. Second proof: When we would sympathise with those of education inferior to our own, in order to enter more fully into their feelings we try to lay aside for the time our superior culture. Since, then, we have no better guide to the methods of God than the best human sympathy and love, it is reasonable to suppose that when God made His sympathetic entry into human life, He abandoned within the human sphere His own divine point of view and mode of consciousness (p. 219). To an ordinary mind it might seem that superior culture would enable one to appreciate more keenly the misery of others. But this apart. Is it possible, we ask Canon Gore, for Our Lord to sympathise with us now when He has resumed, as Canon Gore would say, His divine mode of consciousness? And what of the wondrous sympathy which preceded and prompted the Incarnation? Third proof: The divine and the human modes of knowing cannot have co-existed in the same person, because they are mutually exclusive.

Let us but ponder a little while [says Canon Gore] on the infinite gulf which lies . . . between the knowledge of God and that of man, and we shall see how almost mutually exclusive the divine and human modes of knowing must be (p. 221).

Reasoning analogous to this gave rise to Nestorianism on the one hand, and Monophysitism on the other. Fourth proof: It is a question whether God is all-knowing with respect to man even when considered as God absolutely. Much more then is there a question as to the omniscience of God Incarnate.

The accurate examination of the meaning assigned to divine "fore-knowledge" in the Bible [says Canon Gore] tends to shake the traditional belief that God is there revealed as absolutely knowing beforehand how each individual will act (p. 224).

Canon Gore evidently thinks that he has said something startling, and here we are quite able to agree with him, for he goes on to say :

Nevertheless, it is at least as difficult to reject this belief as to admit it. But [he continues] whatever be our relation to it, at least we must admit that the method of God in history, like the method of God in nature, is to an astonishing degree self-restraining, gradual, we are almost driven to say, tentative. And all this line of thought, all this way of conceiving God's self-restraining power and wisdom, at least prepares our minds for—

Canon Gore's theory.

W. GILDEA, D.D.

ART. VII.—THE PLACE OF THE HOLY TRINITY IN THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

AN examination of the influence of Catholicism on the Fine Arts has led to some curious and many rich results. Perhaps its more subtle impress is discernible in that most sensitive of arts, Poetry, in which the unveiling of its workings has been by no means complete. There, its penetration cannot be escaped even by her enemies, its elevating power is accepted by strangers to her; while her sons seize it as an aim and a means beyond the reach of profane inspiration.

By reason of its being at once so complex and so individual, the great flower and crown of the Middle Ages offers the most profound study in its effects. The marked revival of interest in mediævalism, in part arising from, in part a sequence to, the renewed study of Dante, characteristic of the close of the eighteenth and the continuance of this century, gives point to its selection. In Germany this revival and renewal was led by the Schegels, Tieck, Werner, and Novalis, while even Goethe, though unsympathetic, betrayed the influence of the great Florentine in the second part of *Faust*, the movement culminating in Witte and Hettinger. In France Rivarol was the pioneer, whence the impress showed, but less visibly, in Chateaubriand and Lamartine, to gain brilliancy in Hugo, Barbier, Gressier, Barrès, and, last but not least, in Ozanam. But whilst this influence was, in Germany, less marked in painting than in letters—Cornelius worthily upholding the sister art—in France painting vied with literature in homage to Dante. Scheffer, Ingres, Delacroix, were steeped to the lips in him. In America letters drew their inspiration from Dante in Longfellow, Parsons, Lowell, and Norton. Yet it is from England, possibly, the greatest glory has been shed upon the exile. The well of English poetry, Chaucer and Spenser, is impregnated with Dante feeling, percolating through Wyatt and Surrey, Lyndesay's "Dreme" and Sackville's "Induction," till its depth, in Milton, was richly tinct with Dante imagery. Then, after a quiescence, it

divided into two streams, in poetry through Coleridge and Byron, reaching the double flower of poetry and painting in Rossetti; in prose through Dr. Carlyle, Butler, Church, Moore, and the Vernons. In design Reynolds, Flaxman, Blake, and Watts were strongly impressed by him.

When we recall that Boccaccio gave ten years to his exposition of the Comedy, that only after a ninth reading did Schlosser fully grasp the poem, and that Ozanam devoted four years of close study to the Purgatorio alone, it will be felt we can but touch the outlines of Dante's thought. And in approaching its study it is essential we withdraw our minds from the present position of religious thought in England, and enter in the air Dante breathes: the spirit of the Middle Ages. In him lies the quintessence of mediæval thought. Either we clothe ourselves with the mantle of mediævalism and so abide with the guests having on wedding garments, or adhering to modern intellectual vesture remain externs to his banquet. Thomas Carlyle has seized the point with his usual insight: "The Comedy is of Dante's writing, yet in truth it belongs to ten Christian centuries, only the finishing of it is Dante's He is the spokesman of the Middle Ages; the thought they lived by stands here in everlasting music the fruit of the Christian meditation of all the good men who had gone before him." And Milman, "Christendom owes to Dante the creation of Italian poetry, and through Italian, of Christian poetry." Comte "looked on the daily reading of a canto of the Comedy, and a chapter of the Imitation, as an almost essential element in the spiritual self-culture of the religion of humanity."

But the thought by which they lived in the Middle Ages was Catholic thought, their Christian meditation was Catholic. Is that to be found in one who in 1842 was claimed by Hengstenberg as the precursor of Lutheranism; who in 1865 was crowned at Florence a herald of Free Thought and the Revolution; whom Foscolo and the elder Rossetti strove to prove a determined enemy, not only of the Papacy, but of Catholicism; one whom Aroux boldly hailed as a heretic? A writer, indeed, who so misconceived certain acts of the Church's rulers as to bury, less in sorrow than in anger, three of her heads in hell, one of whom was afterwards canonised?

A writer whose most important historico-political work has been put on the Index?

Undoubtedly a superficial view of the Comedy would present the Inferno as inspired by the politics, the Purgatorio by the art, the Paradiso by the theology of a statesman, a poet and a Christian philosopher. But it has a unity more subtle, a harmony more profound, in which the belief of silent centuries found a voice. Its Inferno is the mirror of a teaching, its Purgatorio the scheme of a belief, its Paradiso the realisation of a faith, the whole an unity, found nowhere beyond the limits of Catholicism. For a Christianity to which the one idea is repugnant, the second a scandal, and in which the third only remains, the pæan of redemption could never have been sung. And more. Abbot Joachim having revived the Tritheistic idea in the West, Innocent, by the fourth Council of Lateran, had, in condemning that error, placed the doctrine of the Trinity in a full and permanent light, the nature of the unity in essence between the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost being clearly defined, with the distinction of the persons and identity of each with the one individual essence of God, and the Incarnation as the work of the whole Trinity in common. This faith was in the air in Dante's youth. That its teaching acted on, and was accepted by, Dante's mind, is revealed to us in the *Commedia*. Its realisation is of the essence of that work. Thus it becomes not only a song of redemption, but of redemption through the co-operation of the Holy Trinity. A vision of the action of the Godhead upon the human soul, as evinced by His justice and His love, symbolised by (in Hell) drawing it from its rebellion, through gradations of renunciation (in Purgatory), into the white light of His illimitable love in the mystic Rose (of Paradise). And as in sinning against God we sin against the Trinity, so in the fulfilment of the redemption is reflected each of the Divine Persons. This reflection lies in the threefold division of this subject, corresponding to the three kingdoms of Nature, Grace and Glory, and, in the concrete, to Man Sinful—the Inferno; Man Repentant—the Purgatorio; and Man Triumphant—the Paradiso. But Dante's epitaph lays stress on his being a theologian, "Master of Dogmatic Lore" (as Raphaël drew him in the Vatican frescoes,

which, in truth, does not prove much, as he put Virgil there also). Hence the basis of this superstructure is naturally a trinity of theological virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Faith, in the Father through His justice, proved by the very existence of Hell: Hope, in the Son, who Himself directly taught it us, and which is the abiding joy of Purgatory; and Charity, which is Love, the gift of the Holy Spirit, perfected in Paradise. Now Dante's idea is a complete system, which governs and sanctifies every sphere of human action, which engages and works through the whole soul of man, by its trinity of powers, memory, will, and understanding, those divine parts which, he teaches, she takes with her after death. It is the faculty of memory, and with it reason, which in his fallen nature, is impressed and directed by the Inferno. It is the will, freed by grace, and so inclining heavenward, that acts in the Purgatorio. And it is the understanding which, illumined in glory, gives itself up in adoration of the Godhead in the Paradiso. Yet, as the three Persons of the Holy Trinity are an unity of Divine Nature, as the three powers of the soul form one human nature (Plato taught the existence of three souls, the Manicheans of two; but Dante, following the Church, teaches that man is not body only, nor soul alone, but one body and one soul in harmony); and as the three virtues form one aim and one belief, so the three canticles of the *Commedia* form one complete song of redemption. Complete Dante wishes it understood; because, though each of the three canticles consists of thirty-three cantos (without the introductory one), they, with it, sum up to one hundred; that is, ten times ten, perfect completeness, ten being the symbol of completeness. Thus the poem leaves us where only absolute completeness can be found, where the Trinity is one in the Godhead.

Dante, therefore, following St. Augustine and St. Thomas, recognises in every creature the impress of, a likeness to, the Trinity. And we study in the *Commedia*, as a whole, those cords of attraction with which each Divine Person draws the soul to itself. In the *Inferno* the relation is more directly to the first Divine person; the action of God the Creator, the Legislator, on the creature. Man and sin are coincident terms; sin the loss of man's perfect good. To save him from this loss,

his Creator, by punishment through His love, strives to preserve him, checking his sin, and turning him to nobler ways; for the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. But this can only follow if the creation of hell be conceived of as an act of justice and of love. That this is Dante's idea must be fully grasped, as it is the basis and justification of his position. He is very express in showing it to be the work of, not one, but all the Divine Persons; for as all three co-operated in the Incarnation, all three laboured in the Redemption. Here he follows the soundest Catholic teaching, as seen in St. Augustine and St. Thomas; so closely, indeed, that in the attributes he assigns each Divine Person he uses almost the words of the Angelic Doctor.* And so perfect is hell's justice that the happiness of the saints in heaven is not disturbed by their knowledge of its pains. St. Catherine of Sienna tells us, "As the saints have united their wills entirely to the will of God, they recognise in the punishments inflicted the just judgments of God, and grieve not thereat." And St. Thomas explains how this can be.† Now it is because of our faith in God that we can realise the justice, wisdom, and love which went to the formation of hell. This is the theological virtue Dante impresses through the *Inferno*, a Catholic teaching with which he overshadowed even painting. Orcagna embodied this *Inferno* in the Church of Sta. Maria Novella, and again at Pisa, Signorelli at Orvieto, and Michelangelo in the Sistine.

Remembering that, though punishment of sin is its theme, hatred of sin—the only way of approach to God—is the object of the *Inferno*, we can understand why Dante made its torments so hideous, so insane, so revolting. It is a shallow criticism that looks upon this as a fault. Rather is it in the

* DANTE: Justice, the founder of my fabric moved,
To rear me was the task of power divine,
Supremest wisdom, and primæval love.

ST. THOMAS: "Power has the nature of a beginning, whence it is compared to the Heavenly Father, who is the beginning of the whole divinity. But wisdom is like to the Heavenly Son, inasmuch as He is the word, which is nothing else than the conception of wisdom. Goodness, being the nature and object of love, is compared to the Divine Spirit, who is love."

† "A thing can be a joy in two ways. For itself, as when one rejoices in the thing, *per se*, as such; in this way the saints do not rejoice in the sufferings of the wicked. Indirectly (*per accidens*) on account of something else joined to it. Thus the saints rejoice in the sufferings of the wicked, considering in them the order of divine justice."

highest sense beautiful. The finer our ideal of God and His sanctity, the more hideous, insane, revolting, must sin appear. This is the only true light in which to examine it; the keenest means of exciting abhorrence of it. The faculty of the soul Dante exercises in the *Inferno*, therefore, is memory with its light, reason. Now in Dante, reason, the science of human knowledge, leads to faith; and hence he chose as its personification one in whom early Christianity, on account of a passage in his fourth eclogue, saw a prophet of our Redeemer (an interpretation, however, which St. Jerome condemns). Thus Virgil leads the poet wherever right reason can reach; when that limit is touched he resigns his charge to one who transcends reason by faith.

As man's redemption was achieved through a trinity of good, so Dante's first steps towards his are arrested by a trinity of evil, symbols of the characteristic passions of youth, manhood, and age, taken from Jeremias. And as God, in His inscrutable wisdom, deigned that man's redemption necessitated the co-operation of a woman, Dante acknowledges such necessary intervention. Though he never *names* either God's Mother or her Divine Son in the fell regions of the *Inferno*, as being too sacred for such a place, the indications are clear that it is Our Lady who, through St. Lucy, Dante's patron saint, extricated him from the perilous pass of his despair by the hands of Virgil. Beatrice, Divine Grace, makes use of Virgil, natural reason and human science (at the instigation of Our Lady), "not from any defect or insufficiency of its own," in the words of St. Thomas, "but from the defect of our understanding, which is easily led by the knowledge it has attained of the other sciences, through reason, to those things which are above reason." And Dante follows St. Thomas in recognising the fundamental principle that without preventing grace, symbolised by Our Lady, man can neither turn to God, put his hand to supernatural work, nor make good its effects. Here again is emphasised the theological virtue of faith, for St. Thomas lays down, "God moves the soul of man in turning it to Himself, and therefore a movement of the mind is required; but the first act by which man turns to God is faith." Very beautiful the manner in which Dante's renunciation, the leading of man back to his Creator through reason influenced by super-

natural light, aided by co-operative grace under the hand of Divine science, is then worked through—an outcome of Catholic doctrine. By contrast, recall Goethe's Faust, who, dying impenitent, is, after death, pardoned through Mary, at the prayer of Margaret. The thing is false in thought because in contradiction with the Church's doctrine of repentance, false in art because it is thus an absurdity.

Dante entered the outskirts of hell on Holy Thursday, 1300, the year, observe, of the jubilee for the remission of sins, published by Boniface VIII., the anniversary of the day on which the great sacrament of redemption was instituted, but he reached the first circle, the actual pilgrimage there beginning, at midnight on Good Friday. At midnight, because our Saviour commenced His work of redemption by being born at midnight; on Good Friday, because on that day He completed it, as far as His physical life was concerned. And in passing from circle to circle down Hell he always turns to the left, because it was on the left of our crucified Redeemer that the world had the undying lesson of final impenitence. And as there is nothing in Dante not of distinct meaning, no inconsequential details, no mere embellishments, nothing but what has its place and value, we may note that as our Saviour expended thirty-three years in working out our redemption, each cantic exhausts thirty-three cantos in singing that theme.

In his general classification of sins Dante follows St. Thomas, grouping them as sins against God, against our neighbour, and against ourselves, of which the latter are, as a rule, of the less gravity. Despite which, however, he places suicides—sinners against themselves—in a lower depth than sinners against their neighbour. Wherein he is true to his great teacher. "In matters not subject to the dominion of the person's own will, such as natural and spiritual good," says the Angel of the Schools, "it is a more grievous sin to harm oneself than to harm another."

The propriety of the punishment assigned to various sins has been a stumbling-block to the critics. They are mostly a reflection of Catholic teaching, deeply significant. St. Thomas says the results of carnal sin are blindness of soul, inconsiderateness, precipitancy, and inconstancy, while St. Augustine witnesses "Love knows no repose." The very quintessence of the punishment Dante gives these sinners lies in these effects.

Or take the wrathful and sullen. St. John Damascene speaks of "ire" as "a kindling of the blood surrounding the heart, through the *vaporation* of the gall," and St. Thomas attributes *accidia* (sullenness) to sad and melancholy *vaporisation*. Hence does Dante inflict on these the putrid *fumes* rising in the Stygian lake in which they boil. Or again, the peculiar punishment of suicides—those who rid themselves of the life of the body as well as of that of the soul—a punishment full of profound meaning. They have to live perpetually in poisoned trees; an act of eternal reparation for their outrage on Him who died for them on the life-giving tree of the Cross. (Chaucer in two places, "The Knight's Tale" and "The Legend of Good Women," borrows from the imagery of this scene.) Indeed, a more detailed study of the punishments would reveal a striking analogy between them and the perils of St. Paul. In the five first circles of the *Inferno* Dante has been dealing more particularly with sins directed against the First Person of the Holy Trinity, the Creator of law, the Legislator whose rule is order. And inasmuch as incontinence is want of self-control, it strikes at the life of law and order which must be lived to fulfil the order of God's law. But now, having in view sins more against the Second Divine Person—in that heretics attempt the ruin of the Church He came to found, who came as a consuming fire into the world—we find for the first time in hell the pain of fire. The sins, too, of violence and fraud strike at Him whose birth was threatened by violence, and whose death was accomplished by fraud.

At first sight it may surprise that heretics, raveners of the sheepfold of God, are not placed deeper in hell. In this, as everywhere, Dante has followed the spirit of the Church as seen through St. Thomas. They are midway between those given up to works of the flesh and those given up to malice through either fraud or violence. For heresy develops into violence against God; and into fraud, in that it leads many astray; but its roots are in pride and sensuality. "The sects and heresies both belong to works of the flesh," says the Dominican Saint, "not indeed with regard to the act of infidelity considered in relation to its proximate object, but as regards their cause." Their punishment he takes almost word for word from St. Gregory the Great.

Passing into the fellest regions of Hell, where the pilgrims arrive on Holy Saturday evening, we find the sins striking against our neighbour, not so much individually but as representing God. These are of the deepest dye, because they proceed from abuse of the intellect, man's noblest possession. And being thus against the understanding are directed against its illuminator, the Holy Ghost, thus completing the cycle of sins which, in offending the Godhead, aim at the Blessed Trinity.

Milton beautifully conveys the immeasurable distance and speed of Lucifer's fall. In Dante the weight of guilt, rather than the force of distance and speed, rivet Satan in the chasm of the bottommost abyss of hell. Milton's Lucifer is of inflexible will, of indomitable intellectual force, of unconquerable pride, of undaunted might, eminently an exile seraph: a god at enmity with God. But Dante, so aghast at the awful crime in the revolt, so seized of the dishonour, the foulness, the repulsive ingratitude of that *Non Serviam*, with the so terrible effects thence ensuing, made his Satan a brutal outcast, a hideous devil. Whatever he thus lose, if he do lose, in power and splendour of poetic conception, he gains in truth, in beauty, in profoundness of meaning. As in God supreme good, in Satan fellest evil; in God sweetest love, in Satan bitterest hate; in God highest wisdom, in Satan profoundest ignorance; in God most radiant light, in Satan grossest darkness; in God infinite beauty, in Satan unspeakable repulsion; in God glow of eternal life, in Satan the cold of everlasting death. His triple face is the hellish antithesis of the Heavenly Trinity—one face red, with rage of impotence against the God of Power; the second, black as night, with hatred of the Light of the God of Wisdom; the third, a ghastly white, in pallid envy of the bright hued God of Love. And as a divine trinity of fidelity is the foundation of our redemption, so a hideous trinity of traitors is at the basis of our ruin. Around Satan, who betrayed his God, hang Judas who betrayed the Church in the person of its founder, and Brutus who betrayed man's commonweal.

From this point, the centre of the earth, the farthest from the light of heaven, they pass by a "hidden way"—there being no real escape from hell—through a rock-tortuous

hollow : a type of the difficulty of escape from the consequences of sin. This was on Easter Eve. The whole night of that day is occupied in this subterranean journey. They then remain actually in hell the time our Redeemer lay in the tomb.

II.

The co-operation of the Holy Trinity in the action of the Purgatorio is through the Second Divine Person, the God of Love. The fathomless darkness, the pitiless misery, the hopeless eternity of hell are gone. We enter a kingdom of grace—man repentant—where the theological virtue of hope makes beautiful and peaceful even terrible tortures, in that man's freewill conforms himself so deeply in unison with God's will as to rejoice in whatever it ordains. In the *Inferno*, the guilt of sin still remaining, the will ever remains malignantly in antagonism to God. In the Purgatorio the guilt is no longer there, the stain and its punishment alone stand between the soul and its God. Keenly yearning for this union, the souls eagerly accept and rejoice in the pains which wear their stains away. We contemplate sin, it is true, but sin seen in its causes rather than in its consequences, and therefore in a kingdom of comparative peace : sin as witnessed in man repentant, touched with hope, where the effects of his use of freewill steadily makes the way to, and regains, his permanent home. A kingdom indeed where all are so accustomed to unrestricted light that the mere casting of a shadow, as Dante's body often does, constantly created fear in those who saw it.

The suffering here is, in accordance with the opinion of St. Bonaventure, less intense than in hell ; its characteristic, the pain of loss, the inexhaustible yearning for God. Thus hope is the chief feature of the Purgatorio, where all the ministrant angels, consolers, defenders, encouragers of the expiating souls—of these ideals of humanity the Purgatorio is full—are clothed in vestures of "green, the symbol of hope," in the words of the Seraphic Doctor, and the teaching of St. Thomas on this point is express. "Neither for the blessed nor for the damned is there any hope. But for those who are journeying, whether in life or in purgatory, there can be hope,

for in both cases they can take in hope as a thing possible in the future." Hence the submission, resignation, joy in God's will of these souls in purgatory, enable them to accept and cherish their pain as being in accord with, and bringing them nearer to, the divine will of God. To this end they incessantly implore Dante's prayers, and an offering of good deeds.

There is only one angel visitant in the *Inferno*, where Virgil finds himself impotent to enter the city of Lucifer, and an angel is sent to open it for them: Dante's conception of the light and value of faith over reason. But the *Purgatorio* is irradiate with them. Indeed in his love for them Dante was a very Florentine, who might have lived among the frescoes of Cimabue, Fra Angelico, and Perugini. He, in fact, gave speech to the angels of Giotto, who embodied those of the poet.*

The journey up the mountain of purgatory (a memory of his exile wanderings among the Apennines) occupied Easter Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, as its passage could only be done by day, remembering the words of St. John. And as in the *Inferno* the time is always gauged by reference to the moon, here it is given by the sun. Indeed the sun is never mentioned in the former till they are about to emerge. On reaching the summit of each stairway the pilgrims always turn to the right, for it was on the right hand of our crucified Redeemer that was given the beautiful and imperishable example of repentance. And as the action of this division is achieved with special reference to our Redeemer, we find the Mount of Purification to be the exact antipodes of the Mount of Calvary; and the first sign Dante sees in the heavens on gaining the confines of purgatory are the four stars known as the Southern Cross.† And when the angel blesses the spirits he conducts into purgatory, the poet mentions that he does so with the sign of the cross. The four stars symbolise the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, which are thus seen at the rise of day as being four virtues, which in the light of reason guide life to its fulfilment. In the evening, as darkness

* He calls Beatrice the "youngest of the angels," and, thinking of her on the first anniversary of her death, "fell to drawing the resemblance of an angel," as he tells us in the "*Vita Nuova*."

† In his book on Dante, Artaud says the constellation of the Southern Cross is distinctly marked on a globe made by an Arab in Egypt about 1225.

grows, Dante sees three other stars, the theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, or those supernatural virtues which are our safeguard in the night of life, our surety in the darkness consequent on sin, the four in the daytime illustrating active life, the three at even emblems of the contemplative. Very appropriately do the soul's eyes, through Dante, rest thus early in its repentance on the four virtues which were outraged by the Fall; when ignorance supplanted prudence; malice, justice; greed, temperance; weakness, fortitude; outrages which have to be expiated before the earthly paradise can be gained: ignorance, which is the blindness of pride; malice, whose acts are anger and envy; greed, whence avarice; and weakness, from which sloth and lasciviousness. This expiation being wrought out under the influence of the God of Love, its place of endurance resolves itself into three distortions of the divine gift of love: love distorted in its object, pride, envy, wrath; love distorted by defect of vigour, sloth; and love distorted by excess, avarice, gluttony, luxury, an arrangement borrowed from the "*Speculum Beatae Virginis*" of St. Bonaventure. How closely Dante here follows the Church's conception of the meaning of the Incarnation is seen in these divisions of purgatory. St. Ignatius, in his *Spiritual Exercises*, points out that the Incarnation offers us three lessons of Love: Christ's humility, His poverty, His suffering. Now in these divisions we find prominence given to repentance for the disorders which oppose those very virtues: pride, the mockery of humility; the lust of riches, with its dread of poverty; and attachment to pleasures of sense, with its shrinking from pain. The punishment is both active and passive. Active from the pain of sense in the actual torments undergone, passive in the pain of loss, the yearning and thirst for union with God, vivifying again into activity by the souls' unceasingly striving to practise the contrary virtue to that vice which condemned them.

The most striking feature in our Redemption by the Son of God is, after His love, His humility. Hence the shores of the Isle of Purgatory grow only reeds, emblems of humility, and with these Dante has to be girt; for God giveth his grace to the humble. And as we sin in three ways—thought, word, and deed—the gate of Purgatory is approached by three stairs;

the first of white marble, highly polished as a mirror, symbolising the examen of conscience by which man sees himself, and in a higher sense the pallor of the agony our Saviour bore when He took the conscience of the world upon himself; the second, darkly purple, rough, and split across and lengthwise, emblem of the contrition by which the soul must be broken up and bear its portion of the cross on which our Redeemer suffered; the third of flaming blood-red porphyry, that is the suffering and mortification of repentance, and the Blood He shed to make it fruitful. Up these steps Dante is led, not by Virgil, but by St. Lucy, to show that the soul cannot avail of this justifying grace until aided by prevenient grace. "In sin a man is dead as a corpse," says the Angelic Doctor, "into which the soul must be breathed anew in order to raise it to life."

But the cardinal fact in our redemption is the Incarnation, which, with the doctrine of the Trinity, finely distinguishes it from all other religions. And a cardinal fact in the Incarnation was its dependence on the consent of one of God's creatures. It is therefore not only not incongruous, but of profound intent, that the first of the engravings with which the walls of the first circle are enwrought should be that of the Annunciation.

For she was imaged there
By whom the key did open to God's love.

(Michelangelo drew upon this passage for the idea of his designs which served Venusti as the basis of his Annunciation in St. John Lateran.) Thus does the poet, eminently at one with Catholic dogma, emphasise the essential part Mary took in our Redemption. The whole Purgatorio breathes the air of her aiding presence. So completely does our Lady permeate it that among the necessarily varying examples of virtue each terrace contemplates, the first is always taken from her life. She is ever held before us as the help of Christians, the prototype of the seven virtues contrasted with the seven deadly sins—a thought taken from St. Bonaventure—and man's saving intercessor. Thus is the Mother associated with the Son, and His mediation performed in her presence as it were. It is her humility which is con-

templated by the proud, her tender charity by the envious, her patience by the passionate, her zeal by the slothful, her poverty by the avaricious, her sobriety by the gluttonous, her chastity by the sensual: a scheme again owing to St. Bonaventure.

Each terrace has its special prayer, and its particular hymn, sung, it is true, with tears in the voice, yet with a sadness rarefied with hope; a sorrow softened by resignation, whose essence is joy. A delicate sadness full of charm, a chastened sorrow full of beauty, untouched with either the dryness of desolation or the anguish of despair. In fact, their condition is rather one of solace than pain, which in feeling comes very near so much of the Church's thought as lies in St. Catherine's "*Treatise on Purgatory*." The prayer of the first terrace, of the proud, is the Paternoster, that sigh of our impotence, that appeal for aid, that abasement in humiliation, which carries, as Hugh of St. Victor says, the remedy in it for the seven deadly sins. How appropriately, then, does Dante make it the first prayer on his way of purgation from the seven deadly sins. It closes with a prayer for those who have to come after the prayers, and in thus teaching that the holy souls can pray for us, the poet leaves his great guide St. Thomas for SS. Gregory the Great and Peter Damian. Bellarmine in his "*Treatise on Purgatory*" inclines also to this view rather than to St. Thomas's, whose reasoning, in this respect, he says, "is not convincing."

The expiations in the Purgatorio are no less deeply appropriate than the punishments of the Inferno. For instance, the gluttonous, whose hymn is, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst, and among whose models of temperance is Mary at the Marriage Feast. Their expiation, too, carries a very distinct allusion to the work of the Son of God in the Redemption which the poet is drawing out. They expiate their temporal punishment in a hunger and thirst represented by their access to a tree whose fruit exhales delicious savour, whose branches are watered by a refreshing stream, neither of which are they permitted to taste. Here is symbolised that Tree whose fruit was the Living Bread, whose cry was "I thirst," and whose side opened to us the waters of eternal refreshment and blood which was drink indeed.

It is impossible here to develop the full meaning of her

who had held Dante's life in her heart, in whose honour he wrought this great labour of his years, the love of whom led him from nature, through grace, to the beatific vision. Beatrice the girl, who, awakening his reason, fixed in his memory the sweetness of life, and so became the love of his youth. Beatrice the woman, who, transfused, fixed his will on the science of God and so became theology, the love of his manhood. Beatrice the angel, who, transcending reason, led his understanding to the Trinity of the Godhead, and so became the love of his age, divine wisdom. The poet's time was flooded with love—the concupiscence of the heathen, the gay dalliance of the Troubadours, the soft sensuousness of the Minnesingers, Pagan love, whose essence was self-gratification. “The life of one man outvalues those of a thousand women,” says Euripides. To such an age Dante holds up the mirror of another love, whose essence is self-sacrifice, which submits, suffers, but endures—Christian love. A supersensual love, whose object transcends death, capable of realising a good superior to and beyond itself, capable of striving, of enduring for it, and thus of power to fix itself upon the sovereign beauty as its highest good. True, among the Pagans, Plato recognised this sovereign beauty as God; Aristotle as the Infinitely Desirable Good, Cicero as the Divinity. But where was the activity of their love? Impotent, sterile, an intellectual apprehension and no more; for their highest good was an abstraction. But Dante's is a real, a personal love, so purified of its dross—he *felt* the expiation in passing over the seventh terrace—it became, like its object, eternal. For this it is capable of renunciation; for this accepts sacrifice; for this clothes itself in humbleness; for this he overshadows the love of the beauty of the body, for the loveliness of the spirit. Spiritualised, it no longer lives in time, it is illimitable, demanding an eternity in which to exist and a heaven for its dwelling-place. Such was the love that won for St. Francis the stigmata; that led St. Bonaventure's soul in its Journey to God; that sang with St. Thomas the hymn of Corpus Christi; that made the Imitation the golden book of Love. And such the love the ideal Beatrice taught Dante in the last three cantos of his Purgatorio and which was to be perfected in Paradise.

III.

It remains to glance at the action of the Holy Spirit, whose work the Incarnation was on our understanding illumined in the Kingdom of Glory, and made perfect through charity which is love. The peril of hell, the fatigue of purgatory, here give place to the peace of Paradise, where man can at last love God with his whole mind. Less dramatic than the *Inferno*, more difficult of seizure than the *Purgatorio*, the *Paradiso* appeals to the imagination through the intellect rather than through the senses; deals with themes, if not of profounder import, of more subtle bearing. Its meaning is less visible, being veiled in a mysticism whose beauty touches less numerous minds. But it is an effort of the human intellect to grasp eternity, to penetrate the white light of divinity, to sustain the effulgence of its presence, to reach and abide in the dwelling-place of God, which has not only never been surpassed, but in no measure approached in poetry.

Aristotle, in a celebrated passage, maintains that the highest bliss consists in vision, not in action; and Plotinus, that action is but a weaker form of vision. Hence in the *Paradiso* there is little action. Its life is pure intellect—the apprehension of truth unveiled in the mysteries of nature and grace. Truth realised, love finds its eternal peace, feeding and enlarging on the contemplation of the essence of itself in the everlasting Godhead. All the resources of poetry as a divine art are aglow, and yield their radiance and perfume in exquisite perfection. So that the *Paradiso* is less a poem than a prayer: not the least beautiful the Catholic Church has produced.

In the *Inferno* we saw the hand of God the Creator staying the inferior powers of man in their war against man's faith; in the *Purgatorio* the Redeemer's action in renewing man's will in its freedom; here in the *Paradiso* the Holy Spirit guiding the intellect to a right understanding of that love whence it emanated. Created for the knowledge of God's love, its proper use will increase the fire of divine love in our souls; for, as Pagni points out, "it is a law of human nature that the heart is the more induced to bestow its love upon an object, the more the intellect perceives and penetrates its perfections." It is the perception of and penetration

into God's love which is the work the third divine person performs in the *Paradiso*; this consummation of man in his loving God with his whole mind. "The path of the just," says the Holy Ghost, "as a shining light goeth forward, and increaseth even to perfect day." An exact epitome of the *Paradiso*.

Dante entered Hell at midnight, Purgatory at day dawn, but Paradise with the full radiance of the sun. The most inexpressibly beautiful thing in nature is sunlight: the most spiritual, subtle, inimitable. In brilliancy penetrative, in movement magical, in power supreme; evanescent yet enduring, destroying yet creative, changeful yet ever the same. As he, apparently motionless, ascends with Beatrice (Virgil, human science, is no guide here), on whom he gazes in ecstasy, and who now symbolises divine knowledge and wisdom, the limitless expanse of space is one limitless sea of sunlight: vista upon vista of incommunicable beauty. One of the many profound thoughts of Pascal was that for a man to stand alone on a solitary moor and gaze into the heavens would force him to realise the littleness of his intellect. But Lamartine, using much the same figure, declared it to awaken in the soul unknown possibilities. What a tumult of feelings then swept the mighty soul of Dante as he gazed down, leagues and leagues of light trembling around him. The beauty of Beatrice grows more dazzling the higher they mount, so, too, Dante's nature became more capable of sustaining the greater intensity of light. And as they proceed from heaven to heaven memory fails him, will is quiescent, and understanding alone, illumined by the Spirit, threads the mysteries he everywhere sees unfold.

The powers of the concupiscences, of youth, manhood, and life, have, in the *Inferno*, been annihilated by the creative justice of God the Father; the spiritual freedom of the will has, in the *Purgatorio*, been strengthened and assured through its redemption in God the Son; now, in the *Paradiso*, the remaining shadows of earthly doubt or non-knowledge are one by one removed through the transcending irradiation of God the Holy Ghost, as heaven upon heaven is gained in the ascension to the Godhead. The orders of the church triumphant unite with the orders of the church militant in

preparing this perfection of the understanding. And as it opens so does the heart: with comprehension comes capacity: the soul's power of loving broadens and deepens: it feels its increase vividly aglow. Then burst upon its vision the triumphant hosts of our Redeemer. And over their million lamps broke a sun from whose living light all drew their radiance. There was the Might and the Wisdom which had laid open the path, so yearned for, between heaven and earth. There, too, the Rose wherein the Word was made incarnate, the *rosa mystica* of the Church's song. Dante's eyes ache as he gazes on the legion of splendours on whose burning rays lightnings shed from above. He calls on Mary—symbol of Divine mercy—to sustain his vision. The messenger of the Incarnation comes in reverent homage to escort her while the Easter hymn, *Regina Cæli*, is made as a wreath of melody to crown her. To trace the beauteous, deep embosomed splendour of this flame of love neither mortal speech nor even the inward shapings of the brain have colours fine enough.

A confession of Faith (taken from St. Thomas) to St. Peter, of Hope, the offspring of Faith, to St. James (in almost the words of Peter Lombard), and an act of Charity, the fruition and fulfilment of Faith and Hope, to St. John, and Dante passes into the Beatific Vision: the sea of immeasurable Love and Beauty, into which all understanding empties itself.* By the perfect flowering of this trinity of supernatural virtues the work of the Holy Trinity is completed, the vision of Dante is achieved, his life's labour is fulfilled.

So, in the words of the mystic Tauler, man becomes like to the form of God—Godlike, Godly. Thus is the harmony of man accomplished: desire and possession, mind and heart, soul and body, made perfect in his union with God.

To such heights has Catholicism raised Poetry, to such depths has her mysteries led it, that "post Dantis Paradisum nihil restat nisi visio Dei."

D. MONCRIEFF O'CONNOR.

* To this, not Beatrice, but St. Bernard—whom Chaucer calls the Flower of Virgins—leads him. He whose heart hymned imperishably the Holy Name, and from whose lips the world has learned the wondrous promise of Mary's unfailing help.

ART. VIII.—THE LIFE OF CARDINAL MANNING.*

“NO man’s life ought to be published till twenty years after his death.” As we turn the pages of the book before us, these words of Frederick Denison Maurice come back to our memory with a new force and meaning. And we feel that there is a truth at the bottom of this oracular utterance. The proposition, it is true, is somewhat sweeping; and it cannot be taken literally, or applied in all cases. There are men whose lives are so free from anything likely to furnish matter for strife, that the story, were it worth the telling, can be told none too soon. And, on the other hand, there are some biographers of such rare tact and discriminating judgment that they can safely deal with more difficult and disputable questions, without doing anything to wound the feelings of the living or wrong the memory of the dead. But the life of the late Cardinal Manning was just such a case as was contemplated by Maurice. His lot was cast in the midst of more than one burning public controversy, in which his position compelled him to take his part, to say nothing of the private misunderstandings or collisions with some of his contemporaries, which were hardly avoidable in the course of such a long and eventful career. To attempt anything like a full narration of this story within a few short years from his death might well seem a perilous undertaking—*periculosae plenum opus aleae*. Yet this is the task upon which Mr. Purcell has entered, apparently with a light heart. By the kindness of the Cardinal himself, the biographer was furnished with some valuable notes and reminiscences, many of which were published for the first time in the pages of this REVIEW.† Later on, the Cardinal’s executors, in what they now consider “an evil hour,” allowed him to have access to a miscellaneous mass of correspondence and other private papers.

* “Life of Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster,” by Edmund Sheridan Purcell, Member of the Roman Academy of Letters. London: Macmillan & Co.

† DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1892.

The rule by which Mr. Purcell has been guided in the difficult and delicate task of making selections from these private documents has at any rate the merit of extreme simplicity.

I have not omitted or suppressed a single letter, document, or autobiographical Note essential to a faithful presentation of character, or to the true story of events, with one sole exception (vol. i. p. vii.).

And again :

I have suppressed no facts material for the elucidation of truth or the manifestation of character ; withdrawn no documents or letters, lest, in bearing witness to facts or events in his life, such letters might haply give offence to the timid or the weak, or to them that shun publicity as bats shun the light of day ; or, still worse, practised what is called a "system of judicious suppression," out of a vain or unworthy desire of creating unduly or untruly a more favourable impression on the general reader than was warranted by facts. On the other hand, I have not set down aught in levity or on hearsay, or out of keeping, I trust, with the fitness of things, far less, I need scarcely add, in malice. As good wine needs no bush, so a good and noble nature stands in no need of suppression of truth (vol. ii. p. 236).

Later on in the same volume he returns once more to this point, and appeals to the authority of Cardinal Manning and Leo XIII. against

the vicious system of suppressing or glossing over facts in history sacred or profane, or in the lives of men, Saints, or sinners, as repugnant to truth and justice, and, in the long run, as detrimental to the spiritual interests of the Church " (p. 755).

Now let us say at once that we frankly accept this principle as the true guide to be followed in writing history ; and we have no wish whatever to question the wisdom of Cardinal Manning's words. But there are reasons which should make us slow to apply the principle with the same freedom to the story of our own days. It is more easy to deal fairly and dispassionately with the events and actors of the dead and buried past. For, on the one hand, we are less likely to be swayed or unduly biassed by our own personal feelings, and on the other hand, there is no danger of wounding the susceptibilities of those who are the subject of our history—*ἀμέραι ἐπίλοιποι μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι*. There are some things

which we had best leave to the care of posterity, which can see them with clearer eyes and judge them more fairly.

Mr. Purcell is not altogether ignorant of the need of some reserve in the matter of contemporary history, for he tells us that he has made one exception to his rule of publishing all essential documents. And he gives us his reasons for doing so. "It was considered wise or expedient to omit, at all events for the present, this note of five or six pages, on the ground that it might give pain to persons still living, or provoke controversy at home or abroad" (p. vii.). These certainly seem excellent reasons for withholding the document in question from the public. But why does the biographer take this prudent precaution in one case alone? Did he really think that there was nothing in the letters and notes which he *has* published calculated to stir up strife or to give pain to the relatives and friends of Cardinal Manning who are still with us? If so, he must now be aware that he was strangely mistaken.

But this wholesome fear of kindling needless controversy or giving pain to others, is by no means the only reason for deprecating the system of indiscriminate publication which Mr. Purcell has thought fit to follow. The sacred cause of truth is only too likely to suffer from this attempt to tell everything without reserve or reticence, without fear or favour. Historians like Dr. Pastor, who can command the Vatican archives, as well as other public and private sources, and bring fresh records to light from many and very various quarters, have some prospect of giving a fairly accurate picture of the period with which they deal. But a biographer who seeks his materials in the letters and journals of one dead man, can hardly serve the interests of truth by wholesale publication. His documents give, at best, but one-half of the controversies and discussions in which their writer was engaged, and the disclosure reveals the motives, and, it may be, the faults and failings of one side alone. There may be other papers of men still living, or letters of the dead whose executors discreetly withhold them from the public, which would correct and complete this one-sided picture. And in the case of private letters meant only for the eyes of their recipient, there is often great danger of cruel misconstruction. Thus the personal

remarks and caustic criticisms on the conduct of others found in some of the notes here published, might bear a different meaning to the mind of the original reader, for whom alone they were intended. If their writer, while condemning something in the conduct of one of his colleagues, had at the same time spoken of the esteem in which he held him for his good qualities, it would obviously be very unfair to take the blame apart from its context, and suppress the praise. But when he knows that his correspondent is already well aware of this favourable opinion of the person he is criticising, the writer will hardly think it worth while to give it expression. The qualifying context is thus often understood, but not the less present to the mind of the reader. And it is no paradox to say that, to the general public, the whole of a private letter is often but a garbled extract.

Were it only for this reason, we must consider the present biographer guilty of a grave error of judgment in publishing some of the documents contained in these volumes. As we should have said the same if Mr. Purcell had himself been appointed executor with full legal power over these papers, we need not enter into the questions at issue between him and the executors of Cardinal Manning.

In making this preliminary protest against this indiscreet publication of private papers, it may be well to add a word to prevent a possible misunderstanding. In a passage which we have already cited from the book itself, and in a more marked manner in his vigorous rejoinder to the strictures of Cardinal Vaughan and the executors, Mr. Purcell speaks of those who wish to suppress the true facts and have an idealised portrait of Cardinal Manning, free from faults and failings. And it is to the disappointment of this desire that he attributes the angry outcry which has greeted his own outspoken history. Let him not lay this flattering unction to his soul. Doubtless, those who favour the timorous course of hushing up everything unpleasant and making a fancy picture of the Cardinal may help to swell the chorus of condemnation. But the criticisms, assuredly, do not come from these alone. We are not idealists. We would fain have a faithful likeness of the real Cardinal we have known and loved, and that with no blind affection. And our first complaint is that the biographer has given us some-

thing else in its place. It may be a grave mistake and a false charity to overlook the defects in a hero's character, and ignore the unpleasing incidents that marred the harmony of his career. But it is a still worse sacrifice of historic truth to magnify real failings and imagine others, and give a painful prominence to the record of conflicts, and wrangles, and misunderstandings. Even if these less pleasing portions of the picture are in themselves true to nature, they will none the less convey a radically false impression, if the rest of the colours are on a different scale.

Having entered this needful protest against the course adopted by the author, we may now turn to consider the result of his labours. Whether these letters and diaries were meant to see the light or no, their publication is now an accomplished fact. And, with whatever regrets and misgivings, we must needs make the best of it. We have already been told that the book is to be met by what is after all the only satisfactory answer, in the shape of a more adequate record of the Cardinal's life and labours. In these pages it is obviously out of the question to supply the deficiencies of the book before us, to set the facts which are therein recorded in a truer light, to reverse the writer's hasty judgments, and correct some of the false impressions which his work has conveyed to so many minds. For these things the reader must look to the new biography. Nevertheless, even within the limits of an article something in this direction may at any rate be attempted.

And first, we may observe that the book itself has been the subject of no little misapprehension. The singular severity of most of its Catholic critics may perhaps be regarded as an instance of what is called poetic justice. Mr. Purcell has given far too much attention to questionable or painful episodes in the story he is telling. And he has paid the natural penalty. His reviewers, friend and foe alike, have fastened upon these portions of the book to make capital out of them, or to gratify the morbid curiosity of the public, or to denounce their writer; while the more meritorious pages are comparatively neglected. The work itself has no doubt found a wide circle of readers; but a far larger number of the general public will form their estimate of it at second-hand, and judge it, however unjustly, by extracts which, for

the most part, show only its worst features. If we are not mistaken, there are many among us who are under the impression that Mr. Purcell's book is made up of nothing but private papers indiscreetly published, and hostile criticism on the Cardinal's conduct and character. And they will probably be agreeably surprised to find that there are really many pages devoted to Cardinal Manning's good deeds; while the chronicler, for all his hostility, at times indulges in the language of an admirer, or to use his own picturesque phrase, "a gushing incense-burner." We have already had occasion to point out some grave blots in the book, and we shall have to say more of them before we have done with it. But we have no wish to do its author any injustice, and we gladly avail ourselves of any opportunity of recognising its real merits.

The first volume, which is devoted to the Anglican life of Cardinal Manning, is in many respects the more satisfactory of the two. The arrangement of the matter, it is true, leaves much to be desired; and the chronology, or the want of it, is apt to be confusing. The writer, moreover, has a somewhat tiresome habit of repeating himself. But in spite of these drawbacks, he succeeds in telling the story of Manning's Anglican career, and gives us a pleasing picture of his life at Lavington. Many who are acquainted with the Cardinal's work among the Catholic poor in his later years will read with interest of his earlier pastoral labours among the Sussex peasantry. Here for instance is the Archdeacon's own account of an old shepherd's death-bed :

In December 1844, Mrs. Long, wife of an old shepherd living in Glaffham, came to me and said that her husband had taken to his bed, and that his deafness, always great, was so much worse that they could hardly make him hear. I gave her a print of the "Good Shepherd," and said, "Give him this book from me." She said, "He can't read." I said, "I know that, but give it to him from me."

I went that afternoon and found the print on his bed. I took it up, he reached out after it and said, "That's mine." I said, "Do you know what it is?" He said, "Yes, yes—the lost sheep—that's me." I put my hand round my head to signify the crown of thorns. He said, "Yes, the crown of thorns," and turned his head over on the pillow and sobbed.

Some days after he said to me, "I hope I shall just walk in;" that is, to the fold. Another day he took it up, and pointing to the crown of thorns said, "That's what cuts me most of all," and turned over and sobbed.

I went to him in the January following to administer the Holy Sacrament. As I gave him the paten I saw something on his neck or throat. At last I saw it was the print. After the Holy Sacrament I asked his wife when he had asked for it. She said, "As soon as it was light." I took it up and he said, "I have it most days." He then said, "I hope He will have me like that"—the sheep on His shoulders—I said, "He has you like that. 'Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.' He does not wait for the lost sheep to come to Him, but He goes out to seek till He finds it." He said, "No, no, He don't wait for he to come to He, but He goes after he; and I hope I shall not give Him much trouble." Long had been a shepherd on the South Downs all his life; and had had trouble enough in seeking the sheep that wandered and were lost. He then took up the print and said, "I shall be glad to see that Man." That night he died (vol. i. p. 291-2).

Readers of Dr. Gasquet's admirable little sketch of Cardinal Manning's life will be reminded of the passage in which he tells how the Lavington flock always lived in the memory of their former pastor; and his story of the old gardener's death is a companion picture to this death-bed of the Sussex shepherd. Curiously enough, the other incident is not recorded in Mr. Purcell's pages.

Perhaps the chief interest of the present volume lies in the lengthy extracts from the Archdeacon's private diaries. We may, indeed, have some misgivings as to their publication, for we cannot be sure that this was Cardinal Manning's own desire, and if he wished otherwise, no one could well be justified in making them public property. Few, however, can fail to read them with interest. And to some of us such revelations of the inner life of a great soul will always have special attractions. St. Augustine, and in some measure other Fathers of the Church, have thus opened to us the secrets of their hearts, and we have thereby learnt to know them better and love them more. And in our own days one who had so lived among the Fathers that he became as one of themselves—*incedebat inter leones, et factus est leo*—has followed their example in this matter also. But Cardinal Manning, in his published writings, has told us but little of his own inner life. And his diaries thus come to us as a new revelation. Unlike Cardinal Newman's history of his religious opinions, this record was certainly not written for the public, and it thus rather resembles the self revelation which is given in "Froude's Remains." If these diaries and confidential letters are only

read in a right and reverent spirit, they will help us to appreciate the Cardinal's character and teach us many a useful lesson. There are, however, some things in them open to possible misconstruction, and the biographer has unfortunately handled them in a fashion which is only calculated to lead his readers astray. The confessions of a sensitive conscience must not be taken too literally; and when we read of a period of "declension," we must remember that the writer has a very high standard of duty before his eyes. At times, Mr. Purcell shows that he is not altogether unmindful of the need of making this reduction; but in too many cases he seems to forget it, and takes the self-accusations too seriously.

This is especially the case with those letters and journals which have to do with the years immediately preceding the Archdeacon's change of religion. And this part of the work has consequently created a very painful impression in the minds of many readers. We shall have something to say on this matter presently; but we must first point out the bearing of the facts here disclosed on some charges which have, before now, been brought against Manning's conduct at this critical period of his life. Some writers have not hesitated to describe his renunciation of Anglicanism as the result of a disappointed ambition. These cynical and superficial critics would have us believe that the Archdeacon of Chichester found that he had no chance of attaining to a mitre in the English Church, and forthwith betook himself to "fresh woods and pastures new." Others, while exonerating him from this more serious charge, have still accused him of acting in haste and unreasoning panic. Take for instance the following utterance of a well-known Anglican organ at the time of Cardinal Manning's death:

It is doubtful whether he ever appreciated the bearings of the great controversy; he adopted the principles of Newman wholesale, and after Newman's defection, when at a given crisis he thought they would not hold, he abandoned them. In the panic of 1850 he literally, as the *Saturday Review* puts it, "cut and run." He took it for granted that if the Privy Council went wrong about the Gorham business Rome must be right.

Now, the evidence here brought together, whatever else it may do for good or for evil, ought certainly to make short work of both these charges. And first with regard to the

accusation of ambition, it is made abundantly clear that in December 1845, the Archdeacon by his own deliberate act refused the office of sub-almoner to the Queen—and this on the very ground that it would be likely to lead on to more, or in other words to open for him a way to that mitre for which, forsooth, he was so eagerly and so vainly striving (vol. i. p. 277-9). The pages of the private diary which record this refusal, and the carefully balanced reasons by which the Archdeacon arrived at his decision, form a very curious and instructive example of subtle self-analysis and generous devotion to the higher path of duty. And they ought surely to be enough to remove the last suspicion of this theory of disappointed ambition from the minds of all reasonable men.

We may observe in passing that Mr. Purcell has made the anxiety manifested on this subject the occasion of an unfortunate remark, which to some readers at least conveys a painful impression :

In his numerous letters to Robert Wilberforce there is no further allusion to Newman. It would almost seem, at any rate as far as the expression of opinion or feeling goes, that the question of the acceptance or refusal of the sub-almonership to the Queen were a matter of deeper concern to Manning than Newman's conversion (vol. i. p. 312).

This has been taken to mean that the Archdeacon thought more of a paltry piece of preferment for himself than of the spiritual welfare of his friend. But to one who has carefully read the reasons which led to the refusal of the sub-almonership, and what is said elsewhere about the impression created in Manning's mind by Newman's conversion, this charge is too absurd to require refutation ; and we cannot believe that the writer really meant to insinuate it. And we can only wonder what strange perversity led him to make this pointless observation.

The charge of acting in a panic is, if possible, yet more completely demolished by the letters and journals here made public. It is clearly shown by this new evidence that the conversion, far from being precipitate, was singularly slow, and a work of gradual growth and development. And by the time that the final submission was made the whole question had been fully worked out, and the last difficulty overcome.

But if this charge is removed, we are now confronted by another yet more serious. According to Mr. Purcell's account, the conversion would seem to have been delayed too long. He represents the Archdeacon as already convinced of the truth, but kept back by "moral difficulties," and "human motives."

What retained Manning in the English Church so long after he had abandoned faith in its mission and teaching, and what entangled his tongue, were not intellectual, but moral difficulties. Moral difficulties which in his Diary he describes as "temptations to secularity;" "shrinkings of flesh and blood," as he tells Robert Wilberforce, from a sacrifice of what was dearest to him in life—his home and hopes; his office and work in the Church of England (vol. i. p. 488).

And on a later page we read :

Even before the Gorham Judgment he had clearly and without reserve declared his faith in the Catholic Church. His letters to Robert Wilberforce testify this. All that was wanting was the final act of submission. What is still keeping him back? What had kept him back so long? Human motives: old habits of mind, fear of taking an irrevocable step: fear which he likened to the fear of death: old ties and associations. Well might he have cried aloud to Robert Wilberforce that he was "full of dread lest the truth of conscience should be lost by waiting and listening to the suggestions of flesh and blood" (p. 566).

Nor is this all. Manning is further represented as speaking during this time of hesitation with a "double voice."

What, I grant, is a curious difficulty, almost startling at first, is to find Manning speaking concurrently for years with a double voice. One voice proclaims in public, in sermons, charges, and tracts, and, in a tone still more absolute, to those who sought his advice in confession, his profound and unwavering belief in the Church of England as the divine witness to the Truth, appointed by Christ and guided by the Holy Spirit. The other voice, as the following confessions and documents under his own handwriting bear ample witness, speaks in almost heartbroken accents of despair at being no longer able in conscience to defend the teaching and position of the Church of England; whilst acknowledging at the same time, if not in his confession to Laprimaudaye, at any rate in his letters to Robert Wilberforce, the drawing he felt towards the infallible teaching of the Church of Rome (p. 463).

It is only fair to add that Mr. Purcell attempts some apology for this very singular conduct which he ascribes to Archdeacon Manning :

In the trying period between 1847-51 Manning's mind was in a state of transition in regard to his religious belief. The struggle was as prolonged as it was severe. Until his mind had grasped the reality of things; had probed his doubts to the bottom; had reached solid ground, consistency or coherency of statement was perhaps scarcely to be expected. To see things in one light to-day, in another to-morrow, is but natural in such a transition-state of mind. To make statements on grave matters of faith to one person or set of persons in contradiction of statements made to others, is only a still stronger proof of a sensitive mind, perplexed by doubt, losing for the time being its balance (pp. 463-4).

But if the lengthening out of the transition period was but the outcome of "human motives," and if the utterances of the two voices were really as contradictory as the biographer would have us believe, it is difficult to accept this explanation as sufficient or satisfactory.

The fact is that the biographer has failed to grasp the true state of Manning's mind, and the real significance of the contrasted utterances. The Anglican position, with all respect be it said, is not, at its best, very intelligible to mere outsiders. And when its somewhat complex character is still further complicated by the intrusion of doubts, and misgivings, and leanings to Rome, it is no wonder that one who has himself been brought up as a Catholic should fail to fathom its depths. In justice to Mr. Purcell, this should be borne in mind, for it will help, in some degree, to account for his singularly painful presentment of this transition period. But there is something far more important than the question of the blame attaching to the biographer, and that is the task of finding the true explanation of the prolonged struggle and the alleged "double voice."

And here it may not be amiss to glance for a moment at the story of another conversion. In the luminous pages of the "Apologia," Cardinal Newman has made his own course so clear, that any suspicions as to his perfect honesty and good faith throughout have been dispelled for ever. If, therefore, we can see any point of resemblance to that course in these letters and confessions of Cardinal Manning, it would serve to lighten if not to remove the difficulty suggested by the present biographer. Now, there is at least this one broad fact plainly discernible in both cases. If Manning uses language in grave disparagement of Anglicanism more than

five years before his actual change of religion, the tractarian leader had experienced similar feelings at a still earlier period. Speaking of what befel him in the summer of 1839—four years before the preliminary step of resigning St. Mary's, and six years before his submission to the Catholic Church—Cardinal Newman says:

At once and irrevocably I found my faith in the tenableness of the fundamental principle of Anglicanism disappear, and a doubt of it implanted in my mind which was never eradicated.

And again, speaking of the further light that came to him in 1841, he adds:

From that time, what delayed my conviction of the claims of the Catholic Church upon me, was not any confidence in Anglicanism as a system of doctrine, but particular difficulties which as yet I saw no way of reducing, and the fear that, since I found my friends strongly opposed to my view of the matter, I might, in some way or other, be involved in a delusion.*

Now, it is surely natural, at first sight, to suggest the possibility that Manning's unsettlement in 1845, and in the following years, may have been no more decisive than the doubts which startled Newman, and that some at least of the causes which delayed the one may have operated also in the case of the other. But will the evidence now before us bear this interpretation; or is there anything to show that here the intellectual conflict was ended more speedily, so that we must have recourse to Mr. Purcell's "moral difficulties" to account for the delay? If any one who is familiar with the language of Anglican theology will carefully read through these letters and journals, there can be little doubt of his answer. Not only are the documents susceptible of this interpretation, but it is difficult to see how they can fairly admit of any other.

Some of the Archdeacon's expressions are, no doubt, sufficiently startling in one occupying his position, but they are by no means enough to warrant Mr. Purcell's account of the matter, and they are, moreover, accompanied by distinct intimations that the writer's mind is not yet clear—and this in the most private letters and journals. Let us take for instance

* "Lectures on Anglican Difficulties," Lect. XII.

the following entry in the diary in July 1846, which is a curious contrast to the biographer's language about "moral difficulties":

I feel as if a light had fallen on me. My feeling about the Roman Church is not intellectual. I have intellectual difficulties, but the great moral difficulties seem melting. 7. Something keeps rising and saying, "You will end in the Roman Church." 8. And yet I do not feel at all as if my safety requires any change, and I do feel that a change might be a positive delusion.*

Even more striking than the above words in the diary is the following passage in a letter to Wilberforce written in 1848: "Still I can say that I have never felt the fear of safety or pressure of conscience, which alone justifies a change" (p. 508).

These, be it observed, are both of them notes of what Mr. Purcell would call "the inner voice," speaking in the private journal or the correspondence with Robert Wilberforce; and yet they tell of another reason for delay than those "human motives" and "moral difficulties" to which Mr. Purcell would ascribe it. And they show that the writer was still waiting for something which was needed to *justify* a change. In the midst of all the strong things that he says of the shortcomings of Anglicanism, there is at the same time a misgiving that, after all, he may be under a delusion. And it is for this very reason that he pours out all these difficulties and objections in their most forcible form, into the friendly ears of Wilberforce, whose deeper learning might haply set him right if there should be some evidence which he had overlooked. Who can read these passages carefully without seeing that the struggle through which Manning was passing was not that of one who is clearly convinced and yet cannot break away from ties that hold him captive, but that of a man whose path is not yet plain, and whose sensitive conscience will not suffer him to move? Mr. Purcell, indeed, sometimes seems to feel this, for he heads one of his chapters "Conflicting Claims of Conscience," and he talks of the Archdeacon's "duty" to

* Vol. i. p. 485. A very singular footnote is appended to another entry on this page explaining the "new creation," which as the context shows is obviously St. Paul's *καὶνὴ κτίσις*, as the "creation of the Jerusalem bishopric."

his penitents. But, unfortunately, the biographer himself, in this matter at least, shows some appearance of a "double voice;" and the world will probably pay more heed to those passages in which he speaks of "human motives" and "shrinkings of flesh and blood." As for the alleged contradiction between the Archdeacon's language to his penitents and that of his confidential correspondence with Wilberforce, it will be seen from what has been said already that the divergence is by no means so great as the biographer's words would imply. When once it is seen that the inner voice is not clearly and decisively against Anglicanism and in favour of Rome, it is obviously so far brought nearer to the tones of the other voice. Nor is this all; a patient examination of the letters of direction will reveal some notes that sound in unison with those of the more confidential correspondence. To the superficial observer, there may seem to be a flat contradiction between the letters which throw doubt on the position of the Church of England and those which exhort others to remain within her fold. Yet, after all, Manning was but bidding his penitents to do what he still felt bound to do himself. And if he believed it to be his own duty to remain in spite of all the difficulties which affected him so strongly, he was naturally still more clear that this must be the duty of others who had never felt their force in the same way. Moreover, the very comfort which he offers to his penitents is in some measure that which is his own stay in the midst of his intellectual difficulties. The line which he takes in these letters is not that of orthodox Anglicanism, but may rather be likened to the new position adopted by Newman when the *Via Media* melted away in the presence of St. Leo, and he cast about to find some available substitute. This may be seen by comparing the remarkable letter to a penitent written in July 1850 (p. 481), with a sentence in one of the most despairing notes to Wilberforce dated Holy Innocents, 1849.* In the former letter, the Archdeacon makes a distinction between what he calls the outer and the inner spheres of the Church of God on earth—a distinction which corresponds pretty nearly to that

* P. 516. By a misprint this letter is referred to on p. 481 as having been written in 1847. This is an unfortunate mistake, as it throws the doubts therein expressed two years further back.

generally drawn between the body and the soul of the Church—and he comforts his penitent with the assurance that all will be well if only she will follow out her probation in the “inner sphere” of union with God and a life of faith and love. In the letter to Wilberforce, after vividly expressing his doubts and difficulties, he goes on to say: “But in the midst of all I find great peace, living in a sphere of faith, and amidst the thoughts and images of which our system gives no expression.”

If the reader, after weighing these passages carefully, will turn to the important letter of advice written to a lady in 1850, he will hardly fail to appreciate the true nature of the struggle through which Archdeacon Manning was passing, and find the missing link between the two chains of correspondence.

And when it is once made clear that up to the last the intellectual difficulties had not entirely faded, and the fear of possible delusion still forbade a step which might be as fatal as a mistake made on a death-bed, it is easy to understand the meaning of Manning’s dread lest he should listen to the suggestions of flesh and blood. Who does not know how the subtle influence of natural affection, or inclination, or love of old habits and familiar places, and fear of change, can blend with the intellectual motives, and warp the judgment while they weaken the will? And who can wonder to find a sensitive conscience like the Archdeacon’s thus haunted by a twofold fear—a fear that if he moved he might be acting under a deadly delusion, and a fear that if he stayed it might really be the subtle suggestions of human weakness that held him back? If Mr. Purcell has never gone through a similar conflict he is a happy man; but he would have done well had he left the handling of this delicate question to one who was *haud ignarus mali*.

There is another passage in this volume which has caused no little pain to the friends of Cardinal Manning, and, though it hardly needs a serious answer, it will not do to let it pass unnoticed here. In speaking of the course adopted by the Archdeacon at the time when Tract 90 was being condemned by the bishops, Mr. Purcell takes occasion to make the following astonishing statement: “To a losing cause Manning

was never partial, early in life or late. His nature instinctively shrank from them that were failing, or were down" (vol. i. p. 240). This is by way of explaining the Protestant attitude which Manning took up at that time, notably in his sermon at Oxford on the 5th November, 1843. It is, however, hardly in keeping with the author's own language on the very next page, for he says that the whole High Church party was then in danger of being involved in one common condemnation with the Tractarians; and this sermon was preached with the object of averting that catastrophe at all hazards. And he even speaks of it later on as a public duty. This last sentence, by the way, is a singular specimen of the loose language which is occasionally to be met with in these volumes. "Manning was not the man, in the Church's interests or his own, to shrink, no matter at what sacrifice of personal friendship, from a public duty" (p. 244). Are "the Church's interests or his own" the grounds of the "public duty" or the motives for shrinking from its fulfilment? Could anything be a public duty in his own interests? And how could he shrink from a duty in the interests of the Church? And which of the alternative courses involves the sacrifice of personal friendship? The meaning is mercifully explained by the following passage on a later page:

In his Testification sermon at St. Mary's, Oxford, and in the Charges delivered in 1841, 1842, and 1843, at Chichester Cathedral, he had discharged what he considered a public duty—a duty to himself and to the moderate High Church party—he had publicly disowned Newman and the Tractarians, and had given pledges to the rampant Protestantism of that angry day. A private duty remained to be fulfilled—to be fulfilled in private—the duty of friendship and of affection for Newman (pp. 253-54).

A course which was dictated by a sense of duty, however mistaken, is sufficiently accounted for without the help of that meaner motive which this writer has thought fit to insinuate. At the same time, it is easy to understand how some Tractarians may have regarded the Archdeacon as a deserter, and attributed his conduct to a craven fear of public clamour. But how can any reasonable man so mistake his character in the light of subsequent events? Some seven years later there was a far louder outcry; and what did Manning do in that still

more angry day? He stoutly stood aloof from the clamorous crowds who were sounding the tocsin against Popery; and shortly afterwards joined himself to that unpopular cause which was the object of their fury.

The same fearless spirit was conspicuous in the part which he took on more than one occasion in his later life, in befriending failing, or unpopular causes. Many of his works of social reform are proofs of his courage in the face of opposition, as well as of his readiness to help those who were down. When Mr. Stead was the object of a general outcry—which finds a belated echo in Mr. Purcell's pages—Cardinal Manning still stood his friend, and went to visit him in prison. This was certainly strange conduct for one whose nature instinctively shrank from them that were down! So, again, he held out his hand to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, when its lot was cast in evil days. And when its zealous secretary, Mr. Waugh, was disheartened by the opposition of enemies and the indifference of friends, Cardinal Manning was ever ready to give him fresh courage to go on with his noble work. A better judge of character than the present biographer has said that "the surest way to Manning's heart was for a man or a cause to be down and apparently hopeless."

At first sight it is hard to imagine what can possibly be the origin of this strange judgment, which the biographer has delivered in somewhat oracular fashion, without making any attempt to establish it by evidence. There may, however, be some facts in the Cardinal's history which he has somehow misunderstood, and made into a basis for this preposterous accusation. Thus, in the second volume, he seems to see some trace of this shrinking from losing causes in the Cardinal's later views on Italian politics and the Temporal Power. But the true explanation of that change of attitude has been well put by Dr. Gasquet:

It was a change, not of object, but of the means of carrying that object out. Like most men of practical genius, he was wont to lose no time in regrets which he thought useless, but set himself to look for some other means of obtaining the end he had at heart.*

The foreign diaries and letters are among the more pleasing

* "Cardinal Manning," by J. R. Gasquet, p. 56, C.T.S.

pages of the first volume, and contain much valuable and interesting matter. They serve, in some measure to relieve the gloom cast on the picture by so many words of doubt and anxiety and such painful passages as that which has just been cited. In the notes of the visit to Belgium, in the summer of 1847, we see the Archdeacon coming, for the first time, into close contact with Catholic priests, and religious, and feeling the sweet influence of the Catholic ritual. "In this spiritual retreat," says Mr. Purcell, "God laid deep in the heart of His elect the foundations of his future faith" (p. 354). The longer extracts from the journals of the Italian tour of 1847-8 record some of his impressions of the political state of the country in that momentous period. It is curious to find the Archdeacon in such intimate relations with the Italian Liberals, and looking on as an outsider at the fortunes of the Church which was so soon to be his home. The somewhat dubious character of the information given to the eminent stranger must be borne in mind by the reader when he meets with some startling statements about the clergy and the religious orders. There is apparently some misunderstanding in the footnote on pp. 386-7, which speaks of efforts made by Pius IX. to reform the monastic orders in Italy, and of the resistance offered thereto by the great religious houses, especially by the Dominicans. The reader will not unnaturally connect this question of reform with the charges of loose morality mentioned in the text to which this note is appended. But there is, surely, another kind of "reform" of which even the purest orders are susceptible—the reform which consists in the introduction of a stricter rule, and the revival of primitive observances. And Englishmen, with their own conservative instincts, will readily understand how such changes may well be unwelcome even to excellent men. As the readers of Père Lacordaire's fascinating life may remember, there was such a reform introduced about this time. And it may be shrewdly suspected that the alarming language of the present note is only an inaccurate account of these proceedings.

The chapter headed "Archdeacon Manning in Rome" opens with a strange mistake. For among the English visitors with whom Manning had friendly intercourse we find the name of the Rev. John Sterling. This is apparently a confusion between the two Roman journeys which Manning made in his Anglican days.

It was during the first of these visits that he had some interesting conversations with Sterling, as Mr. Purcell has duly recorded on an earlier page, where he prints a letter from the poet, written in 1840, which alludes to this meeting in Rome. Sterling's death in 1844 is mentioned on p. 276, so that it is somewhat startling to find him resuscitated three years later, on p. 362. It could be wished that the biographer had been able to tell us something more of Manning's relations with the graceful essayist and poet, who is here described as being "well known as a rationalistic writer." The letter he has given is enough to show that their intercourse was of a very kindly nature. But it might well have been supplemented by some reference to the information which Sterling's brother-in-law has given us on this subject. Maurice, it appears, had been taken to task by a writer in the *English Review* for encouraging Sterling's rationalistic tendency, and neglecting the duty of setting him right. He replied to the charge in a very characteristic letter, humbly acknowledging that he reproached himself for having adopted the very course recommended by his critic, thereby doing nothing but harm by his rebukes and arguments.

I can testify [he adds] as strongly to the entirely opposite and gentle and altogether Christianising influence which was produced on his mind by the frank, genial, cordial spirit with which he was met by two men whom even the reviewer will scarcely suspect of any tolerance for his opinions, Archdeacon Manning, and a dear friend of my college days, Mr. Marriott, of Oriel. They showed him more sympathy than I did, precisely because their moral and spiritual tone was much more elevated; and so I believe the case will always be.*

The passage is well worth recording here, for it throws a light on one aspect of Cardinal Manning's character which is too often overlooked by those who are accustomed to think of him chiefly as a staunch and somewhat rigid champion of orthodoxy. It shows us how his sympathy went out to those whose doubts and difficulties he could neither share nor understand. And it is pleasant to see how his holiness and spirituality of life were known and appreciated by an acute observer of a very different school of thought.

The first volume closes with a chapter on "Cardinal Wiseman's

* "Life of Frederick Denison Maurice," vol. i. pp. 505-6.

Life and Work in England," which the biographer considers necessary for the right understanding of Manning's Catholic career; and he complains of the additional burden thus laid upon his shoulders by the long delay of Wiseman's biography. The complaint is, surely, unreasonable; for the task he has undertaken is one of his own seeking. And there was really no need for him to rush into print in such hot haste. The *Life of Cardinal Wiseman* is already in excellent hands; and if Mr. Purcell had only waited in patience for awhile, his own version of the story might have been spared.

This chapter, though full of interesting matter, is somewhat disappointing; and this is hardly surprising; for the task the writer is attempting is by no means a light one. A subject of this magnitude cannot well be treated with anything like completeness in the narrow space of some fifty pages. There is no room to mention all the chief labourers in the field in that first beginning of the Catholic revival. And the unwary reader who fancies that those mentioned by the author are really all, may go away with a very imperfect conception of the position and the culture of English Catholics at that time. Mr. Purcell pays a well deserved tribute to the late Mr. Robertson, the translator of Schlegel's "*Philosophy of History*," and Möhler's "*Symbolism*." But no mention is made of the excellent work done in the same direction by the Rev. Dr. Cox, of St. Edmund's College. In connection with this subject of German literature, it may not be amiss to correct one statement of the biographer. In a passing allusion to the Catholic revival in Germany, he speaks of Novalis as one of the illustrious converts to the faith. This is by no means the first time that this conversion has been recorded, and it is not likely to be the last; for the same mistake is made in one of Heine's most fascinating works, and is thus pretty sure of a wide circulation. Now, it is certainly true that Friedrich von Hardenberg, better known as Novalis, like other writers of the romantic school, betrayed a Catholic tendency in some of his works; and it is also the case that his brother afterwards entered the Catholic Church; but there is apparently no warrant for the assertion that the poet himself ever had that happiness, and it has been emphatically denied by his biographer.*

* See his life, by G. Baur, "*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*," Band x. s. 567.

In the first volume, we have already seen many things we could have wished away, inaccurate statements, misleading utterances, and unwarranted inferences—and some, at least, of the papers published might well have been left in deserved oblivion. But when we turn to the latter portion of the work these birds of ill-omen come thick upon us. It is here especially that the want of proportion is most painfully apparent; and conflicts, and estrangements, and other unfortunate incidents are given an undue prominence, and treated at needless length, which, even supposing the facts to be correctly stated, will in all probability leave a false impression on the mind of the reader. It is true that here, also, there are many brighter pages telling of peaceful labours and triumphs, of kindly words and noble deeds. But, unhappily, they have too small a share in this bulky volume. It would be a pleasing task to take up what Mr. Purcell has here told us of the Cardinal's pastoral zeal, of his labours in the service of the weak and wayward, of the young and the poor and the helpless; and make some attempt to supply the deficiencies and fill in the outlines of the picture. This, however, would soon carry us too far; and our remaining pages must be devoted to the accomplishment of a less pleasant but far more necessary duty.

In making some attempt to remove the painful impression left by so many portions of this second volume, we have at the outset to decide between two alternative courses, to deal in a brief and summary fashion with every statement, or disclosure, or judgment that is likely to mislead or give offence; or, on the other hand, to select a few of the more important topics, and give them a more generous treatment. For various reasons, the latter course would seem to be the more satisfactory; and we may accordingly direct our attention mainly, if not solely, to the following important questions—"The Errington Case," "Archbishop Manning's Relations with J. H. Newman," and what may be called "The Cardinal's Closing Years."

The first of these questions need not detain us for long, as some of the chief objections to the biographer's presentment of this case—its undue length, the fragmentary character of his evidence, and the publication of confidential letters of a somewhat painful nature—have been partly considered in the earlier pages of this paper. As for its length, it will be

enough to say that this "Errington Case," and the other controversies more or less connected with it, fill so many of the two hundred odd pages devoted to the period preceding Manning's consecration as Archbishop, that little space is left for the history of his work as a priest. But these unfortunate disputes did not occupy the whole of his time, and there were, surely, many other things in the first fourteen years of his Catholic career which were, to say the least, as well worth recording.

The copious correspondence between Provost Manning and Monsignor George Talbot is not without interest, but it contains many things which no discreet editor would have given to the public. Not that there is anything wrong in the letters themselves, or anything damaging to the character of the late Cardinal :

Whatever record leaps to light,
He never shall be shamed.

But if there is nothing discreditable to the writers, there is certainly not a little that is calculated to give pain to some persons still living, and much that is likely to be misunderstood ; while at the same time the correspondence is given a false importance by this wholesale publication. And if the biographer must print the letters, he might at least have copied them correctly and set them in some intelligible order. In one place he gives us three letters in immediate succession with the following dates—17th October 1863, 12th June 1859, 13th December 1860.* These are followed by a letter dated 1st February 1861, the greater part of which has already been printed on an earlier page. And it is curious to find that the two copies, which are both of them incomplete, have several variant readings. This would seem to show that the manuscripts have not been copied with strict accuracy.

A more serious blunder occurs in the following passage, where the biographer is giving a summary account of the matter in his own words before proceeding to justify it by producing his documents :

Mgr. Talbot reported that Dr. Errington complained that he was

* Vol. ii. pp. 142, 3.

defamed and calumniated at Rome, but Talbot, writing to Manning, avowed that he had never spoken against the coadjutor to the Pope, except, he naïvely admitted, by declaring that Dr. Errington was anti-Roman and retrograde in his policy (p. 93).

This would certainly have been a very important exception, quite enough, one would think, to justify Dr. Errington's complaint. But what were Talbot's real words, according to Mr. Purcell's own version of the letter?

As you say, who has accused him? I have not made any accusation against him to the Pope or Propaganda. The worst thing I have done has been to tell Mgr. Searle in a private letter that my opinion is that he is radically anti-Roman and retrograde in his policy. I have explained the meaning of anti-Roman in the way always understood here, namely, that he has not that *generous, indulgent* spirit in administering the diocese which is characteristic of Rome. Nevertheless, he says he has been defamed and calumniated (p. 100).

This is a very different thing, and it throws no little light on the whole of this correspondence. Talbot, it would seem, said things in private letters to Searle, and it may well be supposed *a fortiori* in those addressed to Manning, which he would not think of saying to the Pope or to Propaganda. And just as this slip of Mr. Purcell's pen has here converted a remark made to one of Dr. Errington's friends into a declaration to the Pope, the reader may only too easily misread the rest of the correspondence in the same manner. For are not these letters given as the real explanation of the coadjutor's overthrow? And how could they achieve this remarkable result unless the Roman authorities had the full benefit of these unfavourable opinions?

It is pleasant to find Mr. Purcell doing full justice to Manning's motives in this struggle with the opposition party.

It was this fuller insight into the new life which was dawning upon Catholicism in England, with new duties and higher responsibilities imposed upon its leaders and guides, which impelled Manning to treat with infinite scorn the advocates of a standstill or retrograde policy. They had not, it must be acknowledged, the faintest conception of the mischief of their policy. Manning, on the other hand, had the most intense conviction of the evil they were preparing for the Church in England. They sometimes imputed, in their ignorance, unworthy or ambitious motives to Manning's line of action. He ascribed to them in

his impetuosity, too often wrongfully, a Gallican or Anti-Papal spirit (p. 139).

On the other hand, he thinks fit to speak of Manning's "somewhat unscrupulous methods of attack," an expression which he does not condescend to explain or to justify by evidence. Elsewhere, it is true, he tells us that

Manning did not like to put down on paper what he had to say about Dr. Errington; it was a subject he preferred discussing, as a rule, by word of mouth with Mgr. Talbot at the Vatican. Since the case was unformulated against Dr. Errington it was a subject rather for diplomatic discussion than for written statements or definite accusations (p. 97).

And this certainly does seem to imply a dark and insidious method of attack. But this assertion is scarcely in keeping with another passage a few pages before, where we are told that

Manning himself drew up a Memorial for presentation to the Pope, setting forth various charges against Dr. Errington, both in regard to his conduct or line of action as coadjutor and his opposition to the work of the Oblates at St. Edmund's College" (p. 91).

And it will probably occur to the judicious reader that this memorial, supposing it to be in existence, would throw more light on the real merits of the controversy than any number of letters passing between Talbot and Manning. What right has the biographer to assume this tone of authority, and talk of Manning's "somewhat unscrupulous methods of attack," if he is not acquainted with the really important documents, and is only making rash inferences from the stray hints thrown out in the course of this confidential correspondence? The reader may rest assured that there were, and still are, other documents besides these private letters, that clear and full statements were presented to the authorities at Rome, that definite questions were asked, and answered, and that Cardinal Wiseman by no means played the merely passive part which is here ascribed to him.

Happily, this controversy has long been laid to rest; and we have no wish whatever to see it resuscitated. And nothing shall be said here against those who took part in it on either side. It was, as Mr. Purcell rightly allows, a question

of principle and of policy, and not a mere personal squabble. And on both sides there was something gained, and something lost. Both sides, moreover, were only seeking to maintain their own rights ; and it is not the least defect in the present picture that Manning is made to appear too much in the light of an aggressor. A truer knowledge of the story would show that there was nothing unscrupulous in his conduct. And when it is seen that the struggle he was maintaining was really *pro domo sua*, his "attack" has a curious resemblance to defence.

It is now time to turn to a more painful problem, the question of the "variance" between Manning and Newman. At first sight, it may well seem a difficult and delicate task to touch upon this subject, without showing any want of respect for either of these illustrious Princes of the Church, or saying anything to offend the sensitive loyalty of their sons and disciples. And yet, if we may say so, we have little fear of failing in either direction, not indeed because of any sense of discriminating impartiality, but from the very strength of the ties that bind us to them both. Writing here, in Cardinal Manning's old home, in the very room where he spent so many hours of prayer and peaceful labour, we may well feel that the *genius loci* would restrain us from doing him any injustice.* And, on the other hand, the present writer is not likely to be wanting in due respect for Cardinal Newman. How, indeed, should I fail in reverence for our English Father of the Church, whose writings were so long my solace and delight, "whose musical words were ever in my heart and on my tongue"?

Coming, then, to this story of the divergence between Manning and Newman, let us say at once that we neither wish to explain it away, nor to read it with the pessimistic spectacles of Mr. Purcell. The facts are there, in these notes and private letters of the two Cardinals. But how are we to regard them? Briefly as a mutual misunderstanding,

* "The eight years I was at St. Mary's were the happiest of my life. Hard indeed, and full of anxiety, but full of high peace and independence of the world. My name has been always over my door, and I never feel so much at home as when I am in that little room. I lived in it only eight years, but these eight years were a work and a life which cannot be measured by dial time" (vol. ii. p. 74).

partly due to difference of character and temperament, partly to the state of the Church in England and the circumstances of the time, and partly to some unfortunate incidents. And lest any one should think this account of the matter fanciful or far-fetched, let us hasten to shelter ourselves under good authority. By a curious accident, the works of two of the Fathers lie beside us as we write, taken down from their shelf for some other purpose—St. Basil, and St. Gregory Nazianzen. To many, the mere mention of these names will be enough to recall a painful episode in the story of these two saintly friends, which is told us in one of Newman's earliest and most delightful writings.

This contrast of character, leading, first, to intimacy then to difference, is interestingly displayed, though painfully, in one passage of the history of Basil and Gregory ; Gregory the affectionate, the tender-hearted, the man of quick feelings, the accomplished, the eloquent preacher, and Basil, the man of firm resolve and hard deeds, the high-minded ruler of Christ's flock, the diligent labourer in the field of ecclesiastical politics. Thus they differed, yet not as if they had not much in common still ; both had the blessing and discomfort of a sensitive mind ; both were devoted to an ascetic life.*

Who does not see at once the application of this vivid description to the characters of the two Cardinals ? And there are, moreover, some other points of resemblance besides those noted here. Newman has told us how a line in his own fine poem to St. Gregory was once applied to himself ; and the present Archbishop of Bucharest has spoken of Manning as a new Basil. In the following passage on another cause of their divergence, the names would obviously have to be applied the other way.

It happened unfortunately for their intimacy that they were respectively connected with distinct parties in the Church. Basil knew and valued, and gained over many of the Semi-Arians, who dissented from the orthodox doctrine more from over-subtlety, or want of clearness of mind, than from unbelief. Gregory was in habits of intimacy with the religious brethren of Nazianzus, his father's see, and these were eager for orthodoxy almost as a badge of party.†

There was clearly a marked contrast between Newman

* "Church of the Fathers," 1st ed., chap. viii. p. 117.

† *Ibid.* chap. viii. pp. 139, 140.

and Manning, which is not fully expressed by saying that the one was great in thought and the other in action. For Manning, too, was a thinker; though not of Newman's order. With keen insight he saw what were the great truths denied or called in question by men in these latter days. And he felt the importance of stating them boldly and plainly, supporting them by solid arguments, and stamping them with the seal of authority. This made him shrink from any opinions that tended to obscure these truths, or to weaken the authority on which they rested. His strong uncompromising line in defending the prerogatives of the Holy See, the infallibility, and the temporal power, was the outcome of no blind prejudice, but of clear-sighted zeal. And his mind is faithfully mirrored in his theological writings, not only in their matter, but in the very form of the words which are bold, decisive, dogmatic, not to say dictatorial.

Newman, on the other hand, saw the truth as clearly, and set his face as firmly against religious liberalism; but his wider range of thought and his vivid imagination made him equally alive to other dangers from an opposite quarter. Mr. Hutton has somewhere likened his marvellous style to some delicate fluid sensitive to influences from every side, yet drifting with a steady current in one direction. And here, if ever, *Le style c'est l'homme*. His mind was, indeed, sensitive to impressions that came from all the winds of thought, without ever departing from the true current. To few of the world's teachers has it been given to see so vividly and feel so keenly the darkness and the difficulties that surround the luminous points of truth. He could, in a measure, enter into the minds of opponents, or of those who were perplexed and wavering, and see things even as they saw them. This made him have a lively sense of the harm that may be done by rigid and ruthless dogmatism. It is this feeling that speaks in burning words in the opening pages of the letter to the Duke of Norfolk. And in "Idealism in Theology" it has been expressed by one of his disciples in words not unworthy of the master himself.

A patient and attentive study of the two Cardinals will reveal this broad difference in their characters, and might well lead us to expect that they would adopt variant lines of policy in working for the sacred cause, whose true interests they both had

at heart. Humanly speaking, it might almost seem inevitable that they should come into sharp collision, as other good and great men have done before their day. There was, so to say, an objective difference of views and policy antecedently to, and apart from, the personal misunderstandings which subsequently arose from certain accidental circumstances which have never been fully explained. And if we look at it rightly, it speaks well for the humility and charity of them both that the unfortunate "variance" went no further. Some of the letters here published are undoubtedly painful reading. But, after all, what strikes us most is the wonderful self-restraint of the writers. Is there any other instance where two correspondents have said so much, and yet have said no more?

Now, as we have said, we have no wish to explain away these painful letters. By all means let us have the real facts, and take them in their true meaning. But Mr. Purcell has given us something more than the facts. By his unfortunate language in treating of this correspondence, and yet more in a later chapter, where he deals with the Funeral Sermon, he conveys the impression that Manning was not really actuated by friendly feelings towards Newman.

The professions of friendship, on the other hand, uttered either in public, or in the apologetic correspondence with Newman, which follows below, need not be taken as expressing Archbishop Manning's inner mind so much as making use of forms of courtesy and friendliness which he considered incumbent under the circumstances.*

And speaking of the sermon, he says :

Not more than three or four years before the illusive and fancy picture of 1890, Cardinal Manning, not to speak of contemporary letters extending over a long period of years, avowed and put on record his condemnation of Newman in terms so clear and incisive as to leave no room or foothold for an after fiction of friendship. I will only recite one sentence from an autobiographical note, dated 1887.

"If I was opposed to Newman, it was only because I had either to oppose Newman, or to oppose the Holy See. I could not oppose the Pope."

It was not in Manning's nature to make a friend of a man who was, as he believed, the Pope's "opponent" (p. 754).

Has the writer forgotten that he has given us this same note

* Vol. i. pp. 324, 5.

in extenso on an earlier page? Any one who reads the above words without having gone through the volume, or without remembering what has been said before—and in the case of a book of this size such things will happen—might suppose from this that the friendship was an “after fiction,” put forth in this “illusive” public utterance, when, as we are told on the preceding page, Cardinal Manning forgot what had taken place in the “stormy periods of his turbulent life.” But what, in the biographer’s own words, is the “simple truth?” In the long note of 1887, from which presumably the above sentence is taken, in spite of the variant readings which it shows, Cardinal Manning writes: “During all this time I can declare that I have cherished the old friendship between us” (vol. ii. p. 351).

Here we have Manning saying that he cherished the old friendly feeling in the midst of that opposition which he so plainly and forcibly describes on the self-same page. How, then, does the fact of the opposition disprove the friendship? Are the two things so absolutely incompatible that in spite of this solemn declaration the one must needs be false because the other is true? We had thought it was, to say the least, possible to be constrained from a sense of duty to oppose the action of our dearest friends. And it is well to observe that Manning does not speak of Newman as an “opponent” of the Pope, but says that he himself must either oppose Newman or oppose the Holy See; and this, it should be added, has reference to three definite public questions. Now, it matters nothing whether in this he was misunderstanding Newman’s views or not, or whether his own opinions were in each case coincident with the teaching of the Holy See, or went beyond it. So long as he thought as he did, he could not act otherwise.

And if affection cannot dispense from duty, there is no reason for the sense of duty to destroy an old friendship. *Omni tempore diligit qui amicus est.* That there was originally a real friendship, though not the “closest friendship,” between Manning and Newman, is sufficiently shown by the kindly letters printed in the earlier part of the present biography. And there is every reason for believing that the old feeling was cherished in spite of divergent views and misunderstandings. There are those who can bear witness that Cardinal Manning was comforted by anything that seemed to draw them together,

and deeply pained by anything that cast doubt on his friendship. When, during his absence in Rome in 1879, it became known that Dr. Newman was to be made a Cardinal, the Oblates of St. Charles ventured to send an address expressing their congratulations. And in a private letter to Father Cuthbert Robinson, who was our Superior at that time, Cardinal Manning wrote, "I am most glad that you sent the address to Dr. Newman." As a pleasing token of the way in which Newman was held in affectionate reverence by the immediate disciples of Manning, it may be added that Father Robinson accompanied the address of the community by a letter which elicited a very cordial reply. With characteristic humility, the illustrious Oratorian wrote: "I feel myself unworthy of being treated with such great consideration and such signs of attachment, yet they are so pleasant that I cannot refuse them."

If Mr. Purcell's second volume is too full of conflict and controversy in its earlier pages, the latter portion of it is pervaded by an air of tragic gloom which is, in some sense, yet more distressing. It would almost seem as though the author felt compelled by some artistic instinct to deepen the shadows as the story draws to its close. There is a pathetic picture of the Cardinal's last visit to Rome, which is represented as the end of the most important part of his career. And the tragic effect is enhanced by the publication of a painful paper dealing with a trial before the Holy Office, and containing some very bitter reflections on the law's delays. Of all the documents printed in these volumes, this is probably the least fitted to see the light. And it is significant that it reflects no discredit on Cardinal Manning himself. Now we take leave to say that the Roman career of the Cardinal did not really end with his last visit to the Eternal City. His voice was still heard there, and his influence was felt on more than one occasion in the years that yet remained to him. Mr. Purcell himself surmises that this was the case in Cardinal Gibbons's struggle for the Knights of Labour. And there is reason to believe that he was consulted in the matter of the Papal Encyclical on the Working Classes, and some even consider that his hand may be traced in the wording of one passage of its text.

This, however, is a question of degree. And if the writer means that Manning's work in Roman affairs was not what it

had been, for instance, in the time of the Council, few will be likely to gainsay him. It would be far more difficult to put a reasonable construction on his language about the "isolation" of Cardinal Manning's last years.

As the rays of the setting sun disclose swarms of gnats buzzing and blinding, so a swarm of insects in the moral order—fanatics or visionaries or professional agitators, or creatures of a baser sort, social reformers batten on moral garbage, or eavesdroppers big with gossip or guess-work—surrounded the setting sun of Cardinal Manning's life, deafening his ears for a time and blinding his eyes.

And again,

Cardinal Manning's isolation, cut off from communings with the outer world, from converse with men of common-sense and wholesome mind, in his lonely old age, was touching and pathetic in the extreme.

Mercifully, we are reminded that he still had the consolations of religion.

Mr. Purcell has made a vigorous protest against idealised biography. But his German studies might have reminded him that some of the foremost idealists are pessimists. And this pessimistic picture of his is eminently unreal. To borrow his own words on this very page, "At the first touch of reality, all these visionary theories vanish like the baseless fabric of a dream" (*sic*).^{*} Which are these years of "isolation?" From the fact that the biographer talks in the same fashion about "isolation" and "absence of contact with men of sound sense and sober judgment and knowledge of the reality of things," when he is dealing with the agitation of 1885, we may take it that he is including the last six or seven years at the very least. Yet within these years, Mr. Purcell himself being witness, Cardinal Manning is found having intercourse with the Prince of Wales, and the leading statesmen of both parties, sitting on Royal Commissions, attending deputations to ministers, and meetings at the Mansion House, and entering into discussion with Mr. Boulton and Sir R. Giffen. This was surely a case of "splendid isolation."

As for the Cardinal's association with Mr. Stead in his agitation of 1885, which is apparently the cause of this extra-

* Vol. ii. p. 716.

vagant language, it may be well to remind the reader of the fact that other men of high position and character, besides Cardinal Manning, took part in the much abused committee, and the opinions of excellent men are still divided on this question. When the biographer talks of "every man of right mind," it is only a case of *sapiunt quia sentiunt mecum*. And if he does not really think that the agitator's name would defile his book, it is a pity that he should use this expression on p. 653; while if he *does* think so, it is a pity that he should so far forget himself as to print the name on p. 714.

As we have already observed, the book has, happily, many brighter pages; and even in the midst of these painful and misleading utterances about the "isolation" of the Cardinal's closing years, there is a pleasing record of some at least of the good works he was then doing for the labourers, and the poor, and the helpless. The reader who will only take the trouble to see for himself, and pay more heed to the facts than to the writer's criticisms and opinions and prejudices, may see the grand figure of the aged Cardinal through the mists which the biographer has succeeded in raising around him.

Others besides Mr. Purcell have expressed their disagreement from some of Cardinal Manning's views and acts in this last stage of his career. And without accepting the gloomy picture here presented, they still feel or fancy that something was wanting—*aliquid desideravere oculi*. These may find comfort in thinking of him as he was in those earlier days when he stood forth as the strenuous champion of the Holy See and one of the foremost fathers in a great Council of the Church.

But for us at any rate, and we would fain hope for many more of the younger generation, those closing years will ever seem the best and the brightest. And looking at his own ideal of the pastor's office, we feel that his days were ended in the midst of the work and the surroundings which he would have chosen for himself—to die as he had lived, in the midst of the poor, working for them to the last, and drawing their hearts to him then more than ever. If the book before us, whether directly by the truth that is in it, or indirectly by provoking reaction against its harsh judgments and criticisms,

leads any one to see better the true meaning of that life and its lessons, it will do some good in spite of all its failings. And in any case, there is no need to regard its appearance with fear or misgivings. For the moment, it may stir up strife and cause some passing pain, and some scandal to the weak and the wayward. But in the end the truth shall surely triumph. And when this painful and imperfect picture is faded and forgotten, the memory of the real Cardinal Manning—the servant of the Holy Spirit—the pattern of the priesthood—and the father of the poor—will still live in the heart of Catholic England.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

Science Notices.

The Great Red Spot on Jupiter.—During the last opposition astronomers have had exceptionally good opportunities of studying Jupiter. Mr. N. E. Green, who has made no less than 156 drawings of the planet, contributed a very fine specimen to the January number of *Knowledge*.

The great red spot, calculated to be no less than 30,000 miles long and nearly 7000 wide, is still one of the most interesting and mysterious objects on the surface of the planet. The brick-red colour which marked its first observation in 1878 has, however, now faded, suggesting that its dissolution may not be very far distant. But while its colour has been gradually fading its outline has been, for the seventeen years of its certain existence, peculiarly stable, a fact which has sorely puzzled astronomers. In the same number of *Knowledge* in which Mr. Green's drawing appears, Mr. Walter Maunder makes a suggestive comment on the persistency of the spot.

One theory is that the great spot is a glimpse of the real solid surface of the planet which is conceived to underlie the glowing atmosphere enveloping it. Mr. Maunder insists that such a theory is unsound. The inconstancy of the rotation period of the spot points to this. It has been found that in seven years the rotation period lengthened by seven seconds, showing that the formation had moved eastward. Thus it would seem that for the explanation of the spot we must look to the atmosphere of the planet.

Surrounding the spot there is a white region. This appears to be due to clouds at a higher level. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the gap in the Jovian clouds determines the shape of the spot. It has been observed that the hue of the spot is similar to that of the ruddy equatorial belt, and it appears very probable that were the white cloud masses removed the whole of the planet would appear of the same dark red colour as characterised the red spot during the earlier years of its existence.

The Newly-discovered Rays.—The recent photographic researches of Professor Röntgen have literally convulsed the scientific world, for they overthrow some of its most established ideas, and call for a new arrangement of optical fact. That the transparency and

opacity of substances to light waves is a matter of degree, has long been recognised, and we have known that a body that is practically opaque allows some light to pass through it. But now we are confronted with rays which penetrate all substances with a greater ease than ordinary light waves, though the actual transparency of opacity of a substance is in their case also a question of degree.

The human eye is not affected by this remarkable radiation, but the photographic plate is susceptible to its influence. Hence the world has been startled by the announcement that if any portion of the human body is placed between the source of these rays and a photographic plate, a shadowgraph is produced on the plate revealing the skeleton stripped of flesh and muscle. Several examples of skeleton hands have already appeared in the various scientific journals, though none are as perfect as the original one produced by Professor Röntgen.

To take a medical aspect of the discovery, it will no doubt increase the possibilities of surgery an hundredfold. Already by means of these searching rays a bullet has been found in a man's body, and much of what was before guesswork becomes clear vision. Thus unnecessary operations can be avoided.

The discovery will be eagerly made use of by the medical profession, since the process involves no risk. But apart from its obvious medical uses, this mysterious radiation is of intense interest to the physicist, as it opens out an entirely new field of research. Perhaps Professor Schuster is not exaggerating the importance of the discovery in thinking that it ranks with that of the electric current or the polarisation of light.

The source of these extraordinary rays is a Crooke's vacuum tube through which an electric discharge from a large induction coil is passing. The opticians who have been wont to sell these tubes as mere scientific curiosities, have been of late literally besieged by photographers, eager to dabble in the new photography.

A paper screen covered on one side with barium platinocyanide lights up with brilliant phosphorescence when brought near the tube. Paper seems to be exceedingly transparent. The fluorescent surface lights up when placed behind a book of one thousand pages, the printer's ink offering no appreciable resistance. The fluorescence is visible behind a pack of cards. The rays also penetrate tin-foil, a single thickness casting hardly any shadow on the screen. Even thick blocks of wood are transparent. Boards of pine two or three centimetres thick absorb very little. Thus it is possible to take shadowgraphs of objects without removing the sensitive plate from its protecting case, and objects can be photographed inside a box or

cupboard. Curiously enough glass, so transparent to ordinary light, has not a very high degree of transparency to these rays. It is found, however, that glass free from lead is much more transparent than glass that contains it. Thin plates of copper, silver, lead, gold, and platinum allow the rays to pass, but it only requires lead to be 1.5 mm. thick to render it practically opaque.

It seems that the density of bodies mainly determines their transparency; though this cannot be the only determining property, since when plates of similar thickness of Iceland spar, glass, aluminium, and quartz are employed, the Iceland spar was much less transparent than the other bodies, though of approximately the same density.

Professor Röntgen has taken several photographs with the rays. Besides the skeleton hand, a striking one is a compass card and needle completely enclosed in a metal case. Mr. Swinton has been one of the first to reproduce these effects in this country. Amongst the most successful shadowgraphs he has produced is one showing the coins inside a purse, the material of which the purse is made being transparent to the rays. A very curious specimen is a razor photographed through the case and handle, the faintest shadow representing the latter.

The rays, unlike those of ordinary light, do not appear to be susceptible of refraction. Professor Röntgen has tried experiments with a view of ascertaining whether the rays can be deflected by a prism. Mica prisms of 30° filled with water and carbon bisulphide caused no deviation either on the photographic plate or fluorescent screen. The non-refractive property of the rays also appear to be proved by passing them through finely powdered bodies in thick layers. In the case of ordinary light they allow but little of the incident light to pass through, in consequences of refraction and reflection. In the case of the rays under investigation, they penetrated the finely powdered body just as if it were the coherent solid. The substance chosen for the powders were rock salt, fine electrolytic silver powder, and zinc dust. On account of the absence of the refractive property, lenses are incapable of concentrating the rays. The photographs taken are therefore merely shadows. The experiment showing the transparency of powders seems to indicate that there is also no regular reflection with these rays.

Hittorf was the first to call attention to the effects produced in the inner dark space surrounding the cathode of a highly exhausted vacuum tube, through which an electric discharge is passing. It was, however, Professor Crookes who developed and expanded the dark space phenomena. He showed that in this space there are peculiar rays which have been called cathode rays. These rays have been found capable of impressing a photographic plate and producing

various calorific and mechanical effects. Hertz discovered that these rays passed through thin metal which obscured those of ordinary light. Mr. Philip Lenard made an advance on Hertz's experiments by making a small opening in the vacuum tube and covering it with a piece of aluminium-foil. The cathode rays passed through the aluminium window, and phosphorescent bodies glowed brilliantly when held some feet away. Dry plates were blackened in a few seconds. These experiments have led some to suggest that Professor Röntgen's rays are the previously discovered cathode rays, and that he has only been making more widely known the work of Crookes, Hertz and Lenard. But though the originality of Professor Röntgen's researches is not isolated, yet there is much that is undoubtedly original in these investigations. In fact, he shows that the mysterious rays are not the cathode rays. The latter are deflected by a magnet, but Professor Röntgen's rays are not deflected even in a very strong magnetic field. But though the rays are evidently not cathode rays, the Professor thinks the former are produced from the latter at the glass surface of the tube. The most important question now before the scientific world is, what is the nature of these rays? Are they due to ultra-violet light, since, like the latter, they excite phosphorescence and chemical action? The discoverer does not incline to the view that they are ultra-violet rays; he thinks that it is unlikely that an ultra-violet radiation should not be refracted, reflected, or polarised. The following is his hypothesis concerning them :

"A kind of relationship between the new rays and light rays appears to exist: at least the formation of shadows, fluorescence, and the production of chemical action point to this direction. Now it has been known for a long time that, besides the transverse vibrations which account for the phenomena of light, it is possible that longitudinal vibrations should exist in the ether, and, according to the view of some physicists, must exist. It is granted that their existence has not yet been made clear, and their properties are not experimentally demonstrated. Should not the new rays be ascribed to longitudinal waves in the ether?"

It is doubtful whether this theory will find universal acceptance. Professor Schuster has indeed already questioned whether Professor Röntgen's prompt dismissal of the idea of their being ultra-violet rays is justifiable. Though he admits the absence of the refractive property is a very strong argument against supposing the rays to belong to the ultra-violet region of the spectrum, yet he does not think it conclusive.

"When we speak of the size of atoms, we mean their distance in the solid and liquid state. The properties of the ether may remain unaltered within the greater part of the sphere of action of a molecule. The

number of molecules lying within a wave length of ordinary light is not greater than the number of motes which lie within a sound wave, but, as far as I know, the velocity of sound is not materially affected by the presence of dust in the air. Hence there seems nothing impossible in the supposition that light waves, smaller than those we know of, may traverse solids with the same velocity as a vacuum. We know that absorption bands greatly affect the refractive index in neighbouring regions, and as probably the whole question of reflection resolves itself into one of resonance effects, the rate of propagation of waves of very small length does not seem to me to be prejudged by our present knowledge. If Röntgen's rays contain waves of very small length, the vibrations in the molecules which respond to them would seem to be of a different order of magnitude from those so far known. Possibly we have here the vibration of the electron within the molecule, instead of that of the molecule carrying with it that of the electron."

Retinal Photography.—The curious photographic experiments of Mr. W. Ingles Rogers, though they have not been so scientifically conducted as those of Professor Röntgen's, are of intense interest to the physicist and psychologist. By these experiments Mr. Rogers claims to have photographed thought. In his first experiment in September, 1894, he looked at a shilling intently for one minute. Then closing his eyes, he drew the yellow screen to exclude all actinic light from the room, and, placing a photographic plate in position, leant back in his chair and fixed his eyes upon its centre, allowing nothing but the image of the shilling to occupy his mind. He remained in this attitude for forty-three minutes. After two days he developed the plate, and found upon it the faint outline of a shilling. The next experiment was conducted before a select committee under the personal supervision of a medical man. This time a postage-stamp was chosen as the object. This was fixed on a black card. The indistinctness of the reproduction of the shilling in the first experiment is ascribed to the coin not having been accurately focussed in comparison with the distance between the eyes and the plate. It is necessary, therefore, for the plate and the object to be in the same plane and at the same distance from the eye. In the second experiment a folding stereoscope was used as a guide for the eyes. First, Mr. Rogers focussed a stereoslide in the usual way by looking at it through the lenses. The distance between the lenses and the slide was about six or eight inches. Then he removed the lenses of the stereoscope, and placed the black card on which was affixed the stamp in the position previously occupied by the stereoslide. The stamp was then looked at through the apertures of the stereoscope under gaslight for one minute. At the end of this time the eyes were closed, the lights turned down, the card with the postage-stamp removed, and the photographic plate substituted for it.

Then Mr. Rogers looked at the plate for twenty minutes, thinking of nothing except the postage-stamp. This process of mental concentration is described by the experimenter as a painful ordeal. At the conclusion of the task his eyes streamed with water and his head throbbled violently. Then the plate was developed, and this time—a larger plate having been used than in the first experiment—there was seen to be two images on the plate, reproducing the postage-stamp perfectly and clearly. This psychogram, as Mr. Rogers calls it, certainly competes in interest with the now famous skeleton hand of Professor Röntgen. It has been reproduced in the *Amateur Photographer* of November 22, 1895.

Since it is the image on the retina of the eye which by means of a connecting mechanism stimulates the brain to perceive the object which cast it, it is not unreasonable to imagine that in certain cases the brain can by a reflex action so stimulate the retina as to reproduce on it the image. It seems probable that such a reproduction has been accomplished in Mr. Rogers' experiment, and that from the retina the image was transferred to the photographic plate. It has been objected that the original image was probably photographed before its persistence had faded from the retina, and the following incident might seem to support this theory. In the *British Journal of Photography* for January 25, 1889, there is a paper read before the London and Provincial Photographic Association by Mr. Fries Green, in which he describes how he looked steadily at a 2000 candle-power arc lamp for fifteen seconds, and then held a plate close to his eye for a minute or more. Under a microscope a distinct image of the arc could be seen on the negative. But the cases are hardly parallel. The duration of the persistent image would be much longer when the retina is stimulated by such an intense light as the electric arc than it is when an object is looked at by a light of moderate power. If in the case of Mr. Rogers' experiment the image depicted on the plate is merely produced by the persisting image on the retina, the experimenter must have eyes with abnormal persisting powers. In the case of the first experiment it is mentioned that after gazing at the shilling for a minute he shut his eyes, drew the yellow screen, placed the plate in position, leant back in his chair. These various operations must have taken sufficient time to exhaust the normal retentive powers of a retina merely stimulated by a moderate reflected light.

Mr. Rogers would have fortified his position better if he had experimented in a somewhat more exhaustive manner. He might, for instance, have supplemented the experiments described above by arranging matters so that he could look at a shilling or a postage-stamp for a certain time, and then have the object almost instantaneously

replaced by the sensitive plate, in this case making no special mental concentration. If in consequence of this experiment the image was impressed upon the plate, it might reasonably be supposed it was due to persistence. But this one experiment would not prove that in the former experiment the images are not due to a reflex action of the brain. It might easily be arranged to time the substitution of plates for the object at gradually increasing intervals, and if an interval arrived when the plate failed to be impressed, this interval falling short of the interval between the exposure to the eye and exposure to the plate of the shilling and postage-stamp in the previous experiments, the fact would substantiate Mr. Rogers' opinion that he has produced brain pictures on his photographic plates.

Horseless Carriages.—The movement in favour of horseless carriages is at the present moment attracting more public attention than any other engineering topic. The revival of interest in an industry entirely crushed by the Locomotive Acts of 1861 and 1863, is due to the recent introduction of autocars in France and other countries, where there are no restrictions as to their use. The British nation, which has long boasted of being foremost in all that relates to locomotion, is writhing under the law which denies to it the privileges enjoyed by our neighbours, and places it in the rear of progress. As matters stand in this country at present, an autocar is a useless commodity. By the Act of 1863 the number of persons required to drive it is no less than three, the speed must not be more than four miles an hour, and a man must precede each vehicle with a red flag. When such a light vehicle as an electric bicycle falls within these regulations, it is evident that the age has outgrown an Act, perhaps necessary for regulating the noisy and unwieldy machines of some forty years ago, but ridiculous in the present age. In spite of these stringent regulations a few daring persons have ventured on the highways with carriages propelled by various forms of power, but in every case they have been dealt with according to the law, and though generally only nominally fined, prevented from continuing to use their carriages. A vigorous attempt is now being made to bring about the needed reform, and there is every prospect of a complete revolution in street and road locomotion. Mr. Shaw Lefevre introduced a measure last year for the purpose of removing the restrictions, but unfortunately for the cause the Government went out of office before the second reading, so the Bill was lost. Another Bill is expected to be brought forward this session.

The earliest steam carriage was constructed in 1770 by Cugnot, whose machine can still be seen in the Arts et Métiers in Paris. In 1781 Murdock, who was a workman in the factory of Boulton and Watt, made a model steam car which ran along the roads and lanes. These efforts were followed by many others. In 1786 Symington, who made the first practical steam-boat ever built, took out a patent for a steam-carriage. Amongst the inventors who made most progress towards any practical success at the end of the eighteenth century was Trevethick. He first advocated high-pressure steam, and made a carriage which ran several journeys about London, though we may presume the machine was an uncomfortable, noisy, and inconvenient substitute for the horse-drawn coaches of those days.

Nearly a quarter of a century passed without much progress being made. Then the subject was taken up afresh, and several carriages brought out. The most prominent inventors were Hancock, Russell, Redmund, Roberts, and Hill. The history of the road locomotive is fully chronicled in Fletcher's "Steam on Common Roads."

It is owing to the enterprise of the editor of the *Petit Journal* that interest has been rekindled in horseless carriages. In July 1894 he organised the first race between horseless vehicles, offering substantial prizes to the winners. In the next year he arranged the long race of seven hundred miles from Paris to Bordeaux, which was won by M. Pageot's petroleum carriage. Owing to the enterprise of Sir David Salomons, who is an enthusiast on the subject, an exhibition of horseless carriages was held last autumn at Tunbridge Wells, and the public are promised early opportunities of inspecting the latest departures in the coming industry at the exhibitions to be held this summer at the Imperial Institute and Crystal Palace. The movement will be also helped forward by the competition under the auspices of the *Engineer* to take place later on in the year.

In horseless carriages the motive power is at present of three alternative kinds; 1, steam; 2, petroleum; 3, electricity. In the carriage of the near future there will probably be a keen rivalry between the two first-mentioned powers. The latter power, though it is unquestionably the fittest source of power for the purpose from many points of view, and in the end must therefore survive, is as yet hardly sufficiently developed to hold its own with steam and petroleum, especially when the carriages are required for long-distance work.

Unquestionably the best steam-carriage yet developed is that of M. Serpollet. His boiler is composed of tubes squeezed inwards. They are heated almost red-hot and the water is introduced by driblets. It is therefore a purely instantaneous generation boiler, the tubes being capable of withstanding the heat in the furnace, whether there is water

in them or not. The engine can therefore be stopped by simply disconnecting the supply of water. This nice regulation of steam gets over one of the chief difficulties that has hitherto stood in the way of steam-carriages. Mr. H. H. Cunningham, however, in his recent paper on the subject at the Society of Arts, questions whether the tubes will be kept from being burnt when there is no water in the tube, and suggests that the burning of very hot iron tubes might be prevented by surrounding them with platinum-foil. In the boiler of the Serpollet-carriage a pressure of about 300 lbs. is carried. The engine consists of a pair of horizontal cylinders, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches stroke, the crankshaft being connected to the driving wheels by means of pitch chains. The exhaust steam passes into the chamber above the fire-space and so passes away into the chimney in a superheated condition, so that it is generally invisible, the discharge taking place underneath the carriage. There is space for a storage of coke sufficient for a journey of forty miles. The water tank, however, has to be re-filled several times in that distance. The pump used for injecting the driblets of water into the boiler tubes is about 1 inch in diameter and of very short stroke, about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

The special advantages of such a steam-carriage appear to be the smallness and lightness of the motor, and the possibilities of increasing the speed easily when hills have to be surmounted. It is said that steep hills can be ascended at a speed of fifteen miles an hour. No such results can be obtained with petroleum motors. With reference to steam-carriages, it has been suggested that Mr. Maxim's light boilers which he has developed for his flying machines might be invaluable for the less ambitious, though at any rate more immediately practical, purpose of a road carriage. His boiler consists of a great number of upper tubes $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in diameter and $\frac{1}{80}$ of an inch thick. It has 800 square feet of heating surface, capable of evaporating 16,000 lbs. of water into steam in one hour. The boiler is heated by gas vaporised from naphtha. The weight of boiler, motor, condenser, tank, &c., when boiler and tank are filled with water, is only 11 or 12 lbs. per horsepower.

In the races, the most successful carriages have been those propelled by petroleum engines. The action of a petroleum engine depends upon the intimate mixing of air with a small quantity of petroleum vapour. This is ignited, and a mild explosion occurs which impels the piston.

Petroleum is available in two forms—in the unflammable heavy oils which we burn in lamps, and in the light, dangerously inflammable oils which ignite if a match is held six inches away from the surface. For a carriage it is undoubtedly safer to use the heavy oils; but an

obnoxious smell is inseparable from them, which militates against their adoption for private carriages. Foremost amongst the light-oil motors is the Daimler motor, which is used by M. Pageot and Messieurs Panhard and Levassor in their carriages, and which secured the first and second prizes in the Paris-Bordeaux competition. In the Daimler motor the cylinder acts upon a heavily counter-weighted crank, the whole being inclosed in a thin iron case through which the shaft protrudes. This makes 700 revolutions per second. These carriages are very neat in appearance, the machinery being unobtrusive. The great disadvantage of petroleum engines is the fact that it is impossible to vary their speed to any considerable extent. To reduce the speed it is necessary to resort to contrivances for gearing them down. When a stoppage occurs the vibration caused by the revolution of the disconnected engine is almost intolerable. There is in all gas engines considerable heat generated, and it becomes necessary to cool the cylinder. The carriages therefore have to convey about thirty-five quarts of water for this purpose, which has to be renewed every two hours.

Besides petroleum carriages, there are several kinds of petroleum cycles. One of these is the invention of Mr. Pennington. The engine runs at 500 revolutions a minute. The piston-rod works directly on the hind wheel of the bicycle, which is carried forward at the rate of twenty miles per hour. Kerosine oil is used for the motor, the gas being ignited by the electric spark.

As regards electricity as a motive power for these horseless carriages, the only present available source of electric power to work the motor is electric accumulators. These are of considerable weight. To give a storage of $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 horse-power for ten hours it would be necessary to have thirty accumulators giving a current of 22 amperes. The weight of the accumulators would be $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons, which has to be added to the load in the carriage. In the Paris-Bordeaux competition M. Jeanteaud's electric carriage took part, but it was beaten by the benzoline motors. In this carriage the storage batteries are of the Fulmen make. The thirty-eight cells, placed under the hind seats, weigh 3 tons 3 cwt. The carriage has two seats, each holding two persons, and a third seat at the back. The weight of the motor is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. It can develop 14 horse-power or 15 horse-power when mounting inclines.

But even though the storage batteries are heavy and require frequent recharging and repairing, there is much to commend the electric carriage for a town vehicle even in its present crude stage of development. It is clean, safe, cool, noiseless, odourless, and easily controlled. There is no doubt it will be largely used by private persons in prefer-

ence to the other forms of mechanical carriages. The users of private carriages seldom require a continuous run of ten hours, and the above-mentioned advantages will counterbalance the disadvantage of weight. It is pretty certain that in the future legislation only moderate speeds will be allowed in the streets. When electric carriages become general the electric companies will be willing to supply greater facilities for recharging, and will no doubt supply the current for purposes of carriages at a much cheaper rate than they are now supplying it for light. They are now supplying electricity for cooking purposes at a special low rate to encourage the greater consumption of the current.

The advent of the horseless carriage will no doubt be welcome to a large section of the public who look forward to a service of automatic cabs with uniform speed. It will confer a real boon upon the agriculturist. It will then be possible for persons of limited means to keep a carriage of their own. If the Act is repealed, perhaps not the least thankful will be the medical practitioner, who, for the needs of his patients, wears and tears his horses at extravagant cost.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The Japanese Alps.—An interesting paper on the mountain system of Japan was read by the Rev. Walter Weston, M.A., at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on December 9. Its centre group is formed by the intersection of the two main ranges running through the archipelago in a north-easterly and south-westerly direction, in the centre of Hondo, the principal island, on the borders of the provinces of Hida and Shinshu. Here it is that the country attains its greatest amplitude, and the ranges, like waves at the meeting of cross currents, their highest elevation. Hence the name "Japanese Alps" applied to the range by European travellers. Volcanic in origin, as the numerous crater peaks with which it is studded testify, its formation consists of an axis of granitic rock, over which vast quantities of igneous materials have been poured at intervals. The finest outlines are furnished by Hodakayama, called, from its group of granite towers, "the mountain of the standing ears of corn," and Yarigatake, or "the Spear Peak," termed the Matterhorn of Japan. The hot springs of Tateyama are evidently a centre of seismic activity, as they are surrounded by a wilderness of boulders, sand, and stones. Jets of steam and sulphuretted hydrogen are sometimes emitted with a loud roar from some of these springs, called O Jigoku, or "Great Hell," and lumps of sulphurous material are projected to a distance of fifteen to twenty feet. The range constitutes an almost absolute barrier to communication, only one pass being found in a tract of fifty miles, and even here the road has been so damaged by avalanches and landslips as to be practically impassable. Two routes to the south, connecting the chief silk-producing regions, one of which is practicable for cattle, are those principally in use. The lowest level of permanent snow is at 7000 feet, although it lies in sheltered gullies some 1500 feet lower. No trace of glacial action has been found either here or elsewhere in Japan.

The Japanese Mountaineers.—The hot springs form the nuclei of bathing establishments, called yuba, or "hot water houses." Though usually sunk at the bottom of ravines, they are sometimes seen perched up on the side of a volcano. The temperature of the water varies from 100° to 130° F. So great is the passion of the people

for warm-water baths, that in one place known to the speaker, where the water was just at blood-heat, a man would remain in it for a month at a time, taking the precaution of placing a heavy stone on his knees to prevent him from floating or turning over in his sleep, and the caretaker of the establishment, an old man of seventy, stayed in the bath the whole winter. There is probably considerable mineral wealth stored in these ranges, and some silver and copper mines are being worked at an altitude of 7000 feet, from which about 140,000 lbs. of copper and 2500 of silver are extracted in the course of a year. The hunters of big game are a hardy class, and many valuable animals are objects of the chase. Among these is the kuma, or black bear, which sometimes grows to a length of six feet, and whose flesh, when smoked, is esteemed as a delicacy. Deer are also hunted, as well as badgers, valued both for their flesh and fur. The giant salamander, the most remarkable of the fauna found here, is fast dying out. The people of the plains at the foot of the mountains are almost all engaged in the culture of silkworms, a growing industry from the increasing number of manufactories in the towns.

Trips in the Syrian Desert.—Dr. Wright, author of "The Empire of the Hittites," gives, in a beautifully illustrated volume, under the title "Zenobia and Palmyra" (London: Thomas Nelson, 1895), an interesting narrative of his experiences in trips to Palmyra and other historic sites in the desert round Damascus. His pictures of Bedawi raids on helpless travellers or villagers give a vivid idea of the insecurity of life and property in these outlying portions of the Turkish Empire, whose officials are, of course, in collusion with the thieves. The author's own encounters with these picturesque cut-throats are narrated by him with much verve and spirit, and, being well armed and mounted, he generally managed to get the better of them. Not so the poor peasants, who are doubly and trebly fleeced by the Turkish officials under the name of taxes, and by the Arabs under the name of "brotherhood," or blackmail, while neither class of payment secures them any immunity from periodical robbery at the hands of the latter. The fields are only cultivated within musket-shot of the settlements, and the population of these is dwindling away, from emigration to happier lands. Under other conditions much of the land could be made to yield abundant harvests, and irrigation would enable large tracts, now waste, to be reclaimed.

Desert of the Lejah.—Some of the author's wanderings in search of the ruined sites of the ancient land of Bashan led him round that singular basaltic formation, the Lejah. Rising to a height of twenty or thirty feet above the plain to the south of Damascus, the scarp of the lava desert resembles a black sea-coast, jutting out into promontories, indented with bays and creeks, with all its headlands crowned with ruined towers, and the remains of hamlets like fishing villages nestling in all its gulfs and clefts. Yet the centre of the plateau contains a good deal of arable land, and nearly everywhere shows traces of ancient cultivation up to its rugged edges, where the lava-tide is petrified into great billows like those of a stormy sea. The ruins found at Bosra and other abandoned centres of habitation were those left by the Roman domination.

Settlement of Chitral.—The occupation of Chitral was declared by Lord George Hamilton, in answer to a question in the House of Commons on February 17, to have more than realised the most sanguine anticipations. It is welcomed by the people as affording them security, and has put an end to slavery and the abduction of women of the poorer classes. The country proves to have greater agricultural possibilities than were ascribed to it, enabling the large supplies required for the garrison to be obtained on the spot, and the traces of irrigation works, many hundred years old, show that the area of cultivation may be largely extended. The military road connecting it with Peshawar, in parts as good as an English turnpike, is carried over the rivers by excellent bridges. It is guarded by local levies paid by the Government, and the increase in the number of caravans using it shows that trade will develop with security of communications. The country, which at one time supported a much larger population than it now does, may again be restored to its former prosperity. The inhabitants, so far from retaining any feeling of ill-will towards the British conquerors, requested to be permanently incorporated in British territory, and when this was declared to be impossible, were desirous of sending a special mission to Simla to ask the Viceroy to reconsider his decision. The necessity for keeping open the Gilgit road through a country so barren that all supplies had to be brought up from Kashmir, will now be obviated, as that outpost is rendered accessible by a shorter and easier route, passable at all seasons of the year, instead of only during seven months, as was the road on the left bank of the Indus.

Across the Atlas to the Oasis of Tafilet.—Mr. Walter Harris's new volume, ("Tafilet." By Walter Harris. Blackwood, 1895) is the result of an adventurous journey through the interior of Morocco, in native dress and in the character of a Mohammedan. Landing at Saffi on the Atlantic coast, Marakesh, the city of Morocco, was reached after a ride of 100 miles through a country which though then, in the month of October, a dreary waste, would be in the spring a waving field of corn. The yellow-walled city, with its girdle of luxuriant palm-groves, and its horizon, with the snows of Atlas soaring 12,000 feet above it, was entered on the fifth day, and thence the little caravan, consisting of the author and some native companions, started for the mountains, crossing them by a rough bridle-path leading over a pass some 8000 feet high. A few Berber villages, picturesquely situated, overhung the defiles with turreted castles and walls, recalling the general aspect of the mountain villages of Tuscany, though not stone, but bricks of sun-dried mud are the material employed in their architecture. The race inhabiting them, supposed to represent the original inhabitants of North Africa, is found in the highlands from Tripoli to the Atlantic, and has a type markedly different from that of the Arabs, while still farther removed from that of the negro. The Berber has, in general, an aquiline nose with high cheek-bones, and is often fair-complexioned and sometimes blue-eyed. The innumerable tribes into which they are divided are united in their hatred of the Arab, but in nothing else. Not only does tribe war against tribe, but village against village, and even household against household, neighbours firing on each other from roof and housetop whenever occasion offers. Their life is in this respect like that led in the Italian cities in the Middle Ages, when each house was a fortress with towers to hurl down stones and arrows on those adjoining it. The system by which travellers are enabled to proceed in safety through districts whose inhabitants are engaged in reciprocal assassination and robbery, is that of providing him with a member of the tribe as escort, called "zitat," to see him safe through its territory, when he is furnished with a similar guardian by the next tribe. The Jews live among the Berbers under the shelter of an hereditary protectorate, by which each has a Berber patron, who avenges his injuries as though done to himself. The language of the Berbers is broken up into a variety of dialects, and their architecture, with its massive castellated style, is totally different from any of that of the Arabs. Although fanatical Mahommedans, their women enjoy complete liberty, and as polygamy is rare among them, their family life conforms to the European ideal. The tribes are distinguished by the fashion of cutting the hair, and two of those in the Atlas cultivate a long

lock, grown from the centre of the head and from above one ear respectively. It is a curious fact that this latter peculiarity is still a distinctive of the *Mafia* of Sicily, where African blood is so considerable an element in the population, and that a similar pendant lock distinguished the Italian braves in the Middle Ages.

Last Journey of the late Sultan of Morocco.—Tafilet, the remote oasis in the Sahara, which was the goal of Mr. Harris's expedition, is the dynastic home of the present Sultans of Morocco. Hence his late Shereefian Majesty, Mulai Hassen, undertook, in the summer and autumn of 1893, a long and disastrous pilgrimage to pray at the tomb of his ancestor, Ali Shereef, who established a hereditary sovereignty there in 1628. A strip of irrigated land some forty or fifty miles in length by ten in width, the oasis contains the palm-groves producing the most famous dates in Africa, while six or seven scattered groups of modern Arab and Berber dwellings have taken the place of the once important city of Sijilmessa, ruined during the last century. The encampment of the Sultan without the walls accommodated a population of some 40,000 souls, and in this canvas city the author, then dangerously ill, was reluctantly and after many delays assigned a dwelling, on his arrival there in November 1893.

The journey of this great multitude to Tafilet in the autumn had been a sufficiently trying one, from the inadequacy of supplies, but the return across the Atlas in the depth of winter over snow-bound passes 8000 feet high, reduced it to the half-starved horde of men and animals, whose entry into Morocco was witnessed by Mr. Harris three weeks after their start from the oasis. The Sultan himself looked the picture of suffering when he left Morocco for Fez in the month of May, with his life sapped by a complication of maladies. His death, which occurred during the journey on June 6, 1894, was kept as long as possible a secret, and his remains were borne along in his litter with all the accustomed pomp, while trusty messengers were despatched to the capitals to proclaim the accession of his young son, Mulai Abdul Aziz. As soon as the news became known in the camp, all military cohesion was lost, and it split up into groups formed by the mutually hostile tribes, whose animosities had previously been kept in check under the shadow of the royal authority. When Rabat was reached, on June 17, the state of the remains rendered their hasty interment by night a matter of necessity, and the body of Mulai el Hassen, borne through a hole bored in the walls, since a corpse is not allowed to enter by the gate of a Moorish city, was buried in the mosque covering the tomb of one of his ancestors.

British Guiana and its Resources.—A little monograph on British Guiana by the author of “Sardinia and its Resources,” gives in a convenient form all necessary information about a colony brought into sudden prominence by its boundary quarrel with Venezuela. Its area, as shown on existing maps, is about 110,000 square miles, or nearly that of the United Kingdom, but would be reduced to somewhere near a third of this were the Venezuelan claim admitted. Cultivation exists only on a strip of a few miles in width along the sea-coast, where 80,000 acres are planted with sugar-cane and an equal extent is under grass; while the interior, mostly covered with dense forest, is quite undeveloped, and to a large extent unexplored. The population, numbered at over 280,000 in the census of 1891, is very mixed, and there are but 16,000 whites, of whom 4000 are English, and the remainder Portuguese from Madeira and the Azores. These latter, originally plantation hands, now monopolise the petty trade of the colony, are the largest owners of property except the sugar-planters, and are proprietors of almost all the market-gardens round the capital. The negroes have prospered since their emancipation, and the majority have now become gold-diggers, but they are also to be found in every trade and occupation. Some have attained to prominent positions in law and medicine, and they are treated as on a footing of perfect equality with the whites. Indian coolies form a section of the population, and Chinese, numbering 3500, another. The native Indians, estimated at 10,000, live in the interior, and are divided into two classes, those who live in permanent dwellings on the banks of the rivers, acting as boatmen, wood-cutters, or fishermen, and those who lead a nomadic life, wandering over the Guianas and the adjoining portions of Venezuela and Brazil. Their food consists of the produce of their bows and arrows, with cassava bread, the preparation of which from the tubers of the manioc, forms the chief occupation of the women. The planting of these roots, and of yams and capsicums, is the only form of cultivation practised by them. The Caribs are almost extinct, and the other coast tribes have become semi-civilised, but those of the interior still retain their primitive customs, and retire into the backwoods before the advance of the white man. The death-rate among their children is very high, and they are consequently doomed to extinction.

Sugar and Gold.—The littoral zone of British Guiana, comprising all its cultivated portion, may be described as a tropical Holland, consisting mainly of “empoldered lands,” as they are called, below high-water level, and protected from the sea by dykes and

embankments. The supply of water is regulated by an elaborate system of canals and sluices, serving both for drainage and transport. The sugar estates vary in size from 300 to 3000 acres, and are cultivated entirely by hand labour, as the intersecting waterways prevent the use of oxen, and no machinery for cane-cutting is sufficiently cheap and efficient to displace the cutlass-shaped knife wielded by the coolies. A well-managed plantation will produce about a ton and half of sugar and half a puncheon of rum per acre, the work being done almost entirely by East Indian coolies imported to the number of 5000 to 6000 annually. The coolie villages on some of the larger plantations number between 2000 and 3000 inhabitants, all well treated, and cared for under Government supervision. The bulk of them remain in the colony when their five years' engagement terminates, although they are then entitled to a free passage home. The loss of caste of those who return is compensated for by the substantial savings they carry with them, amounting, it is calculated, to an aggregate of three million dollars during the forty-five years since the account has been kept. Gold-mining has been always discouraged by the sugar-planters, and was absolutely prohibited by the Dutch at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Hence the backwardness of the industry in the country where the mythical El Dorado, paved with gold, with its golden lake and mountain, was situated. The gold hitherto obtained is exclusively that yielded by alluvial deposits now being worked along the upper waters of all the principal rivers, by the rudest and most primitive methods. They generally lie at a depth varying from a few inches to 15 feet, and are found under a stratum of sand and pebbles embedded in tenacious brown clay, evidently the result of the disintegration of the higher rocky formations. That reef gold also exists, probably in large quantities, has been proved by experimental operations undertaken on the Barima and Demerara rivers, where fairly rich veins of auriferous quartz have been struck. All mining enterprise in British Guiana is financed in the colony, whose mines do not figure in European speculation.

Natural Wonders.—Mount Roraima, just on the Venezuelan border, deserves to rank as one of the wonders of the world. This singular formation uplifts, to a height of 9000 feet above sea-level, an upland plain with a nearly flat surface, occupying an area of 30 square miles. Its summit is girt with a vertical cliff 1500 feet high, over which the streams after rain fling themselves in numerous cascades. Although nearly inaccessible, it has been scaled by Mr. Everard Im

Thurn, by whose description it is principally known. The second remarkable natural feature of the colony is the great cataract known as the Falls of Kaieteur, in which the Potaro river, tributary to the Essequibo, flings its whole volume of 500 cubic metres per second over a sheer cliff 800 feet high. The gorge, clothed with the richest tropical vegetation, presents a curious spectacle at dusk, as thousands of swallows then fly out of the forest at the top of the fall, and dart to the bottom with such velocity as to dazzle and bewilder the eye.

New Route to the Canadian North-West.—Colonel Harris, in a lecture at the Imperial Institute, dilated on the advantages of the new route to Manitoba *via* Hudson's Bay. A line of railway is in course of construction from Winnipeg to Seafalls, where it will join the line connecting that point with Port Churchill on the great northern inlet. By this route a saving of 1328 miles would be effected in the distance from Liverpool to San Francisco and Vancouver, while freights would be cheapened to the extent of £3 to £4 per head on cattle, and £1 per ton on cereals. This line has, however, the serious disadvantage of being closed by ice for more than half the year, and when its possibilities were discussed some time ago, it was considered doubtful whether it would remain open late enough to let the harvest pass through in the same season.

Notices of Books.

Recollections of Scottish Episcopalianism. By Father HUMPHREY, S.J. London: Thomas Baker. 1896.

HAVING been, what he used formerly to call, "A Missionary Priest in the Diocese of Brechin," Father Humphrey was eminently qualified to give some account of Protestant Episcopalianism in Scotland. Comparatively small as was the number of Anglican clergy in that country, they were divided into two distinct bodies—those under the Scotch Bishops, and those from England, who served chapels of their own, but were not, and would not be, subject to any Bishop. Even among the former, there was this subdivision, that some used the Scottish Communion Office, while others used the English Communion Service. Nearly forty years ago, Dr. Forbes, the Protestant Bishop of Brechin, was tried by his fellow-Bishops for propounding unsound doctrine concerning the Eucharist in a charge to his clergy, and was let off with a caution; but, when a Mr. Cheyne, of St. John's Church, Aberdeen, published some sermons in the following year, maintaining that "the incriminated doctrines were not mere permissible opinions," but that they "could not without heresy be denied," he was suspended and deposed from the ministry. Thereby the congregation of St. John's fell out of the frying-pan into the fire; for their new pastor was the Rev. Frederick George Lee, who introduced even "higher" doctrines, and still more "Popish" practices. Presently there was another disturbance; Mr. Lee had to leave St. John's and, accompanied by the more ritualistic part of his congregation, he betook himself to a new church, "which, however, the Bishop refused to license. The new venture turned out a financial failure, and Mr. Lee left Aberdeen."

All the Scottish clergy were not as Mr. Cheyne and Mr. Lee. The Warden of Glenalmond Theological College, although he "maintained a real and objective presence of the Body and Blood of Christ" in the Eucharist, habitually left "a litter of crumbs on and about the communion-table after his celebration of the Lord's Supper. A High Church member of the College . . . used to fee the manciple, whose duty it was to sweep the sanctuary, to allow him to collect the crumbs after the service, and 'reverently consume' them." Another digni-

tary, who lived at the College of the Holy Ghost in the Isle of Cumbrae, also "held firmly the real and objective presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but [he] had fortified himself against the Roman error of Communion under one kind by his ingenious invention of a presence in the Eucharist of the Dead Christ, or of Christ as He was during the three days of His death. Since Christ's Blood was then separated from His Body, he argued the necessity of Communion under both kinds." Bishop Forbes was much "higher" than such as these. He used to try to consecrate holy oils and altar-stones. Father (then, of course, Mr.) Humphrey "used to go to the marble-cutters, and to the chemists, and procured the stones duly incised with five crosses, and the oil and balsam wherewith to make the chrism, and then the Bishop did his best with a Roman Pontifical."

Dr. Forbes, who "had not the most rudimentary conception of ecclesiastical jurisdiction," was "in the habit of exporting his holy oils and altar-stones into the dioceses of Bishops who would have regarded them as contraband." A high-church clergyman, equally vague on the question of jurisdiction, had had the misfortune to have the licenses of his ritualistic curates withdrawn by his Bishop. On the following Sunday he told his congregation what the Bishop had done, but he said that, although they could no longer perform the services in the church, they would be able to "hear confessions, that being a matter with which the Bishop had nothing whatever to do."

When Father Humphrey was about to be "ordained," he went to Dr. Forbes and confided to him his inclination to become a Catholic. Whereupon, Dr. Forbes remarked: "What a marvellous creation is the Roman Church—so strong at its extremities, and so rotten at its centre." "You will have to choose your party in the Roman Church. Either you will proclaim yourself a Gallican, and keep your reason—or you will give up your reason and attach yourself to Manning's party. If you join the Gallicans, you will expose yourself to a relentless persecution." And later he added: "Döllinger, their [the Catholics'] most learned historian and the greatest of their theologians, does not encourage individual secessions to Rome from the Church of England." If Mr. Humphrey must needs "go over," he would go with the Bishop's "best blessing;" but he would become "a Roman Catholic on the most Protestant of principles—by a deliberate exercise of [his] own private judgment." Father Humphrey was temporarily satisfied with these arguments; "the Bishop did his best to ordain" him, and he soon found himself a parson, stationed at the Cove, a fishing village, some four miles from Aberdeen. He mentions a curious traditional trace of the Catholic religion which he noticed there. All the fishermen, "on coming to a ruined bridge by the

sea-shore, took off their hats." He asked the reason; but they knew of none, except that it "had always been the custom." He "found out afterwards that on that bridge there had stood in old Catholic days a statue, if not a chapel, of our Lady."

Not the least interesting part of this very instructive and charming book, is the history of Father Humphrey's own conversion; but we have not space to notice it in detail. It must be sufficient for us to say that when, in answer to a question from Cardinal Manning, he had replied that he believed himself to have been in good faith while ministering as a clergyman in the Church of England, the Cardinal said: "I have never yet met with [a person] of whom I was certain that he was not in what seemed to him to be good faith, and I have never received a single person who could admit that he had been consciously ministering in bad faith."

The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England. Translated from the German of FELIX MAKOWER, Barrister in Berlin. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1895.

STUDENTS of our ecclesiastical history, Catholics and Protestants alike, will find this volume of considerable use. The author, with that painstaking thoroughness characteristic of German scholarship, has crowded a mass of valuable information into a work which, so far as our recollection goes, is unique of its kind. The history of the constitution of the Church in England, Ireland and Scotland, from the introduction of Christianity, is first handled, and on the whole accurately and fairly enough for the purpose in view; the sources of ecclesiastical law are next indicated; the relation of the Church of England to other Christian bodies comes next under consideration; then the clergy and their orders: and, lastly, we are treated to an elaborate account of the several authorities in the Church, from kings and archbishops to parish clerks and beades. In an appendix many valuable documents are given, in whole or in part; and an ample list of the best available sources of original information accessible in print brings the volume to a close. Should the student dissent, as a Catholic student often will, from the views put forth in the text of the work, he has, in the frequent and lengthy footnotes, the *ipsissima verba* of the authorities relied on by the author, and thus is in a position to correct or modify the views which recommend themselves to Herr Makower.

In much of the work Catholic scholars will, naturally, take little or no interest, the evolution of the present order of things in the Estab-

lished Church, the post-reformation enactments for ecclesiastical discipline in the heretical body which has usurped the place held for a thousand years by the Catholic Church in these realms, can have for us but a feeble and academic value. Nor is the history of the Establishment and its pathetic struggle for the maintenance of some shred of old authority and tradition, as told in the matter-of-fact pages of a Prussian barrister, a narrative to inspire even the most devoted of Anglicans with any particular enthusiasm.

In bondage to the State, the prey alternately of rival parties momentarily in power, dealt with, now caressingly, now harshly, but at all times masterfully, by the Government of the day, the Church of England as by law established has had, on the whole, as sad and chequered a career as its most energetic opponents could desire.

Though our author is, on the whole, an impartial observer, yet some of his *obiter dicta* give us good ground for complaint. Thus he says (p. 70):

The year 1580 saw the first Seminarists despatched to these shores. The object of those who came was to detach, outwardly as well as in inner feeling, the Papists of England from the national Church, and to organise them as a separate ecclesiastical community.

The "Papists" were "detached" enough already, if the record of the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign speak the truth. Again, mindful of the bad faith and broken promises of James I. to his Catholic subjects, and the sufferings they underwent at his hands, we are amazed at reading (p. 71) that "the mildness shown to the Papists, joined to a severity towards the advanced Protestant movement, caused opposition to the Government to spring up in Parliament." Another puzzling statement occurs at p. 97:

Partly from regard to the adherents of Roman Catholicism, partly to defend its own prerogatives, the Crown became [in the seventeenth century] the champion of the constitution and doctrines of the Established Church against the Protestant sects.

That any such deference was paid to the views and wishes of the much afflicted Catholics of England by the early Stuart sovereigns we have yet to be convinced of. Nor do we imagine that the Catholics of England, on their part, concerned themselves in the slightest degree with the organisation of doctrine of the Establishment. Equally amazing is a remark about the work of the Reformation in Ireland. Speaking of the appointment of Browne, an apostate friar, to the Archbishopric of Dublin, and the natural failure of such a character to carry out among the children of St. Patrick Henry's schismatical

schemes, Herr Makower writes: "As nothing was to be done in the way of kindness, resort was had to legislation." Kindness forsooth!

Such are some of the few passages which strike us as objectionable; and such as they are we can forgive them for the excellent treatment of that "continuity" craze which has taken possession of the Church of England almost within the last dozen years. In an important section on "the relation of the reformed Church of England to the Church in England before the Reformation," the following deliberate judgment of a well-read lawyer, a foreigner too, and presumably one to whom the popular cry of the day is of little import, deserves to be widely read and brought before the notice of controversialists. Herr Makower says:

In English writers we are not seldom encountered by the contention that the development of the Reformation period was in uninterrupted connection with the past. For the most part, such statements merely imply that the transition from old to new was effected in valid form. But frequently they are to be regarded as assertions that a material difference in character between the English Church before and after the Reformation does not exist. In neither of the two senses can the contention in this general form be recognised as true. On the contrary, it needs considerable limitations. . . . Within the same limits as the independence of the ecclesiastical authorities in England, the power of the Pope to govern and make rules had been recognised for centuries by decisive acts of the State —*e.g.*, by the conclusion of agreements as to the exercise of such powers. England had indeed, at least, with the declaration of independence of 1366, shaken off the yoke of the universal *temporal* monarchy which it was the aim [*sic*] of the Popes to establish; with respect to *spiritual* affairs, she had, however, still remained subject to the universal domination of Rome.

Now, seeing that at the beginning of the Reformation England, by resolution of her national representatives, renounced for the future all acknowledgment of the Papal authority, this step must be accounted revolutionary, and indicative of a distinct breach with the past. . . .

Side by side with this legal breach (*Rechtsbruch*), in respect of a material point in the constitution as hitherto recognised, is to be placed a whole series of smaller breaches of contract. Thus, for example, 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12 (restricting appeals to Rome) is in violation of the treaty of Avranches in 1172; similarly the abolition of Peter pence involved a breach of repeated and express engagements made by English kings to the Popes. . . . The real changes which ensued relate almost exclusively to the connection of the national Church with the Pope; they consist in the complete abolition of all Papal authority in England, and in the transference of almost all rights of government previously exercised by the Pope to the English sovereign. But herein was involved an alteration of the constitution of the Church in the very point which must be regarded as decisive.

Perhaps our extracts have been unduly long; our excuse must be the importance of the question at the present day, and the special value of so frank an opinion as that above expressed. We fear we have left ourselves scant space to do more than allude to the wealth of informa-

tion on all the topics treated of in this massive volume. The historical literature of the past fourteen centuries has been thoroughly ransacked to throw light on the machinery (so to say) of English Christianity, Catholic and Protestant, and the result is a book which deserves a place in every college library.

The Ethics of the Old Testament. By W. S. BRUCE, M.A.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1895.

THIS volume is one more proof of the interest taken in these days in the study of Old Testament Theology. Outside the Catholic Church it may be said that belief in traditional teaching as to the origin of the books of the Old Testament is dead. With the loss of that belief, a natural reaction affected the minds of many, leading them to disparage the value of the Historical and Prophetical books of the Old Law; and to underrate the importance of Old Testament ethics. The force of the reaction is now spent, and men are beginning to take up the study of the Old Testament from a new point of view; and to find in it a depth and value greater even than it was supposed to contain before. It is seen to contain the history of God's revelation to man; and to display a growth and development of that revelation, which, in a manner, continues to our own times; and which has led men from a state of comparative barbarism to a high state of civilisation and to a lofty standard of ethical uprightness.

Mr. Bruce's work is interesting, from a Catholic standpoint, more as an evidence of the interest taken in Old Testament ethics by those outside the Church, than as throwing any new light on the problem discussed. Indeed, in some places his views seem to be tinged with what may be called rather questionable doctrine. What does he mean by the following sentence:

Such a response is the outcome of a healthy moral feeling, and is removed by whole diameters from the Pharisaism that finds salvation in keeping the Commandments, and puts the Law in the place of the merciful Father, (p. 70)?

Has Mr. Bruce ever heard of the word of Christ, "If thou wouldst enter into life, keep the Commandments?" Does Christ teach Pharisaism? Again, is Mr. Bruce serious when he says (p. 105):

To make a carved image of Him the object of religious reverence is to transfer to senseless things the allegiance due to the Creator and Pre-

server of all; it is to derogate from His honour and to lower Jehovah to the level of the nature-gods of Moab and Ammon.

Does Mr. Bruce really suppose that making an image of Jehovah, for devotional purposes, knowing that it is not God, is the same thing as paying Divine honours to a statue of wood or stone? The fact that the Israelites were forbidden to reverence images was clearly because of the danger of their lapsing into idolatry.

A few blemishes of this kind are to be found throughout the book. On the whole, it is sound and commendable. A contrast is drawn between the Ethics of the Old Testament and of the Pagan nations of antiquity, in which it is shown that the defect of the latter was the absence of a knowledge of sin. The Decalogue is analysed at considerable length, and later on it is shown that there is a development in ethics throughout the Old Testament. A chapter is devoted to the Old Testament view of a Future Life; and finally certain moral difficulties arising from the Old Testament are set forth and answered:

Our whole discussion [writes Mr. Bruce, p. 290] may now be summed up in the conclusion that one grand moral purpose has ever presided over its development. That purpose we have traced in Mosaic legislation, in prophetic inculcation of justice and righteousness, in the wise man's enforcement of prudence and the fear of God. The divineness of the course is apparent in its results. Other nations ended as they began; but throughout Israel's history there was a dynamic energy, constructively working for a purer morality.

J. A. H

The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Deuteronomy, by Rev. S. R. DRIVER, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1895. (Pp. xcv., 430).

THE "International Critical Commentary," now being published by Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, conjointly with Messrs. Scribner of New York, is undoubtedly the most important Biblical work which has yet appeared, either from the English or American press. Other English commentaries of more or less excellence are already before the public, such as "The Cambridge Bible for Schools," "Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students," "The Speaker's Commentary," "The Popular Commentary," and the "Expositor's Bible"; but they are mostly of a popular or homiletic character; and some of them do not pretend to be more than schoolboys' manuals. It is true that many advanced text-

books, dealing with the more complex questions of criticism, have appeared in Germany, and that some of them have been translated into English ; it is true also that many special commentaries have been published in England within the last few years by men of high standing as exegetes and Biblical scholars. But no complete commentary upon the books of Sacred Scripture, written from a critical standpoint, has yet been produced ; and "the time has come, in the judgment of the projectors of this enterprise, when it is practical to combine British and American scholars in the production of a critical, comprehensive commentary, that will be abreast of modern biblical scholarship, and in a measure lead its van."

No doubt there will be much in the new series with which the Catholic student will be unable to agree, but on the other hand there will be a great deal for him to learn. Perhaps many will find the commentaries too technical, and requiring too careful a study ; and indeed it is certain that the new work will be of a thoroughly scholarly kind, intended either for those who have already made a careful study of Sacred Scripture, or who are now desirous of becoming fully acquainted with it. But for all, the introduction by which each book will be preceded, "stating the results of criticism upon it, and discussing impartially the questions still remaining open," cannot fail to be of interest. Two things are certain regarding the forthcoming Commentary, judging by the names of those who are engaged upon the volumes, *e.g.*, Cheyne, Kennedy, Adam Smith, Driver, A. B. Davidson, Kirkpatrick, Sanday, &c. (1) firstly, it will be thorough, scholarly and abreast of the latest developments of Biblical science ; and (2) secondly, it will be pervaded by a reverential tone, such as ought to be present in all works on Sacred Scripture.

The first volume of the new series has already appeared, and, doubtless, been mastered by many enthusiastic students. Dr. Driver had already written a good deal upon Deuteronomy in his *Literature of the Old Testament* ; and, naturally, in the present volume he works out in greater detail the views already expressed in his earlier treatise. To follow him in his exegesis throughout the commentary would require a volume. Perhaps, therefore, the most satisfactory plan to pursue will be to make two quotations from Dr. Driver : one, in which he explains the stages by which Deuteronomy assumed its present form ; and the other, in which he shows that what is new in Deuteronomy is not the matter, but the form.

Chronologically [he writes (p. lxxvii.)], the parts first written were the Blessing (c. 33), and the excerpts from JE (of course, in the original form of this document, with intermediate passages, completing the narra-

tive, which have now been superseded by, or absorbed in, Dt.) The kernel of Dt. consists undoubtedly of c. 5-26, 28; and this, with short historical notices at the beginning (viz., 4⁴⁴⁻⁴⁹ in a briefer form) and end, constituted the law-book of Josiah. It was probably preceded by the parts of c. 1-4 noted in the Table; though most recent critics are of opinion that these chapters were prefixed to it afterwards. Some little time after the kernel of Dt. was composed, it was enlarged by a second Deuteronomic writer (or writers), D², who (1) supplemented the work of D by adding the passages indicated; (2) incorporated, with additions of his (or their) own, the excerpts from JE, and (taking it probably from a separate source) the Song 32¹⁻⁴³, with the historical notices belonging to it 31¹⁶⁻²² 32⁴⁴. Finally, at a still later date, the whole thus constituted was brought formally into relation with the literary framework of the Hexateuch as a whole by the addition of the extracts from P.

The second passage is as follows (p. lvi.):

Dt. [says Dillman truly] is anything but an original law-book. The laws which agree with those of the Book of the Covenant can be demonstrated to be old: those which agree with it have the presumption of being based upon some common older source; the priestly usages alluded to are evidently not innovations: the laws peculiar to Dt. have, with very few exceptions, the appearance either of being taken directly, with unessential modifications of form, from older law-books, or else of being accepted applications of long-established principles, or the formulation of ancient customs, expressed in Deuteronomic phraseology. And such laws as are really new in Dt. are but the logical and consistent development of Mosaic principles. All Hebrew legislation, both civil and ceremonial, however, was (as a fact) derived ultimately from Moses, though a comparison of the different codes in the Pentateuch shows that the laws cannot all in their present form be Mosaic: the Mosaic nucleus was expanded and developed in various directions, as national life became more complex, and religious ideas matured.

A comparison of the two passages quoted above will show Dr. Driver's position relative to the composition and character of Deuteronomy. The book, in its original form, he considers to have consisted of c. 5-26, 28, with a short notice at the end, and certain portions of the first four chapters. This work would have been written during the reign of King Manasseh; and it was enlarged later by a second writer (D²); and, at a still later date, when it was brought into relation with the literary framework of the Hexateuch.

Though, however, Deuteronomy was not written before the reign of Manasseh, it is nearly all based on much earlier materials. Thus the legislation, of which it is so largely composed, is derived from earlier law-books, and much of it springs originally from Moses himself. So, too, the Song (32¹⁻⁴³), the Blessing (c. 33), and the excerpts from JE, are all considerably older than the time of Manasseh; and what Dr. Driver lays down is, that these earlier materials were compiled by the redactors of Deuteronomy into a volume in the reign of Manasseh, and discovered by Hilkiah in the temple during the reign of Josiah.

J. A. H.

Grammaire Hébraïque Élémentaire. Par MGR. ALPHONSE CHABOT. Libraire Victor Lecoffre. Paris: 90 Rue Bonaparte.

MGR. CHABOT'S grammar, of which the present copy is the fourth edition ("revised, corrected, and augmented") fully shows that in the Seminaries in France the important study of Hebrew is not neglected. As a new addition to Hebrew literature and as a further means for the understanding of the Sacred Scriptures we heartily welcome it, although we cannot help remarking that the author would have done well had he consulted some of the more recent books published on Hebrew Grammar and Syntax, such as that by Dr. Wynkoop, Prof. Driver, and Dr. Davidson.

From Dr. Wynkoop's Grammar the author could have seen how much better is the method of arranging the verbs of the category of קָב and קָב into a third and separate group of irregular biliteral verbs, instead of treating them as קָבִי'ע. The theory that those verbs are biliteral is, says Dr. Wynkoop, "an old but not antiquated opinion which prevents a great deal of confusion." In like manner Dr. Driver's "Hebrew Tenses" or Dr. Davidson's Syntax would have taught the author that the Perfect has not "ordinairement le même sens que le *prétérit historique* des Latins," and that it is not "le temps de la narration." It would have been better also if the names Perfect and Imperfect had been adopted for the tenses עָבַר and עָתִיד instead of the wrong names Past and Future.

Mgr. Chabot's Grammar, moreover, is not quite complete. Some things are omitted, which ought to have been found even in an elementary grammar. We would just wish to point out a few omissions we have noticed.

§ 24. *Waw conversive*. The change of accent caused by *waw conversive* when joined to the Imperfect is well indicated, but it is not stated that the *waw conversive* with the *Perfect* changes the verb from מְלַבֵּע into מְלַבֵּע, except in pausa, and when the penultimate is an open syllable.

§ 45. The formation of the plural. The terminations constituting the plural and dual are given, but the rules, with the exception of those regarding the segolate forms, § 48, are omitted for the change of vowels which a noun undergoes before it receives its plural ending.

§ 46. Status Constructus. In this paragraph is omitted: (1) that the nouns ending in הֶ are changed into הֶ־ ex. gr. שָׂדֶה into שָׂדֶה־; (2) that the *segolate forms* with ׳ and ׳ change the ׳ into

cholem and the ' into *sere*; ex. gr. מָוֶת death מוֹתָ; מוֹתָ house בֵּית; (3) the rule for the change of vowels which plural and dual nouns undergo before they can be placed in the *status constructus*.

§ 62, 63, 64. The use of the Perfect and Imperfect Tense. These paragraphs, we think, are the least successful of the whole book. Certain things of great importance are entirely omitted. Nothing for instance is said about the frequentative sense which the Simple Imperfect or the Perfect with *waw* sometimes have. Yet these primary rules for the use of the tenses are absolutely necessary to understand rightly the text of the historical books.

The strong feature about Mgr. Chabot's book is its lucidity, but it would we think be of advantage to English students, as we understand it is the author's intention to give an English translation, if some attention were given to make it more complete.

C. v. d. B.

Annus Asceticus Norbertinus, &c. Rev. MARTINUS GEUDENS, Can. Reg. Præm. Typis Orphanotrophii Fratrum Charitatis de Buckley Hall apud Rochdale.

WERE it only to enable one to read in the original the gems of thought which sparkle in the writings of the Saints, Latin would be profitably kept up in Catholic schools. The dead language of the masters of the world, which in the hands of the Church and under the influence of the quickening spirit of her holy children has passed into a higher life and become endowed with the fecundity and resourcefulness of the mother of all the living, possesses a wealth of Christian classics which should commend it to every student of the beautiful and the true. For to whom a Latin text is as the face of a dear and familiar friend Father Geudens, of the Premonstratensian Canons, Miles Platting, has prepared a most appetising refection. Under appropriate headings the author has collected extracts from the writings of Norbertine saints which furnish us with spiritual thoughts for every day in the year. These extracts are so grouped as to illustrate twelve subjects, one for each month. Thus the compilation does not suffer from the desiccant diffusiveness so frequently prevalent in collections of ascetical texts. The quotations are rich in building materials for the devout soul. Diluted after the approved methods of many contemporary books of spiritual reading, the contents of Fr. Geudens' *brochure* would fill volumes. Many of the names which the learned Canon quotes in his book will be unfamiliar to his readers unless their

studies have led them into the byways of hagiology. If this modest collection attains the honours of a second edition its value would be enhanced by a short biography of the writers. It may not be unnecessary to add that the book, whilst appealing directly to members of the Norbertine Order, will be found helpful by all Latin-reading Catholics. The type and get-up generally reflects credit on the Buckley Hall Press, but we have noticed with regret a few avoidable misprints, of which two are on the cover.

G. H.

La Vie pour Les Autres. Par L'ABBÉ PIERRE VIGNOT. Deuxième édition. Un vol. in-12. 3 frs. 50. Paris : Poussielgue. 1895.

THIS book is made up of Conferences preached by the author in the chapel of the École Fénelon, Paris. It is many a long year since so remarkable a work has come from the pens of the French clergy. That Abbé Vignot's "Conferences" should, in less than two years, run into a second edition, speaks well for the seriousness with which his countrymen are beginning to approach the vital questions of the hour.

Altruism has been tried and found wanting. "La Vie pour les Autres" preaches the unselfish and ennobling love of humanity. From cover to cover the talented *conférencier* sticks to his subject and delivers his soul of one coherent and unmistakable message to a suffering world. The Papal pronouncement on labour, "*De conditione opificum*," has inspired the Parisian priest, and faithful to the teachings of him who is the Vicar of Jesus, once an apprentice, and the successor of Peter the Fisherman, Father Vignot gives out no uncertain sound. In six addresses he sums up the miserable conditions under which the bulk of mankind groans in our civilised lands, the remedies at hand, the prescriptions of Justice and Charity, the obstacles in the way of relief, and the channels through which private individuals can judiciously satisfy brotherly love and compassion.

In words breathing the highest eloquence Abbé Vignot pleads the cause of the poor, but never does he cease to be moderate. While vigorous, his language keeps always within the bounds of fairness, and observes the canons of literary taste. Holy Scripture, history, and experience are brought in, each in its turn, to emphasise and illustrate the theme of the sacred orator, with the result that every argument becomes stronger and clearer. The letter of Leo XIII., studied after this course of religious Conferences, should work out

its noble purpose in every Christian heart. Any English translation of Abbé Vignot's book would make an excellent present for a free library or Mechanics' Institute.

Fontes juris ecclesiastici novissimi. Decreta et Canones Sacrosancti Oecumenici Concilii Vaticani una cum selectis constitutionibus Pontificiis aliisque documentis ecclesiasticis. Edidit atque illustravit Philippus Schneider S. T. D., Professor jur. can. in Lyceo Regio Ratisbonensi. Ratisbonæ, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati. Sumptibus et typis Friderici Pustet, 1895. vi. et 136 pag. 8vo.

PROFESSOR SCHNEIDER'S book puts into the hands of students of Canon Law the most important constitutions and regulations of the Holy See and the Congregations, promulgated during the last thirty years. He deserves our thanks not only for collecting the material dispersed in different books and pamphlets, but also for the explanations taken from recent decisions of the Roman Congregations, and only to be found in periodicals or quite recent editions of handbooks of Canon Law. The book contains on pages 71 and 128 two recent suspensions "*latæ sententiæ R. Pontifici reservatæ*," promulgated only towards the end of 1894. Amongst the "*Constitutiones circa Regulares*," we should like to find the Decree "*Auctis admodum*." (S. Cong. Ep. et Reg. Nov. 4, 1892.)

L. N.

The Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church. By Rev. A. A. LAMBING, LL.D., Author of "*A History of the Catholic Church*," &c. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Holy See. 1896. 325 pages.

WE heartily welcome the reprint (2nd edition) of this instructive little book, which first appeared in 1892. It will prove useful both to clergy and laity. In the next edition, which we hope will soon be necessary, we should like to see the illustrations facing pages 220 and 302 replaced by others which really represent the actions described in the text.

L. N.

Thoughts on Religion. By the late GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Edited by CHARLES GORE, M.A., Canon of Westminster. London: Longmans, Green & Co., and New York, 15 East 16th Street. 1895. Pp. 184.

MR. ROMANES commenced as a Christian. His earliest essay was a defence of the Christian doctrine of the efficacy of prayer. This essay, which gained the Burney Prize at Cambridge, was published in 1874. Two years later his faith was gone, for by this time he had written his "Candid Examination of Theism," which questioned the existence of God. A few years later Romanes gave evidence that in his case a reaction against scepticism was setting in, and in the last year or two of his life he made a careful study of some well-known "Apologies" for Christianity. The results of his study are apparent in "Thoughts on Religion." Before his death, Mr. Romanes once more declared his acceptance of the Christian faith. Canon Gore writes: "It will surprise no one to learn that the writer of these 'Thoughts' returned before his death to that full, deliberate communion with the Church of Jesus Christ, which he had for so many years been conscientiously compelled to forego." We cannot accept this statement. We can very well understand a man's being conscientiously compelled to forego communion with the Anglican Church; but no man ever has been or ever will be conscientiously compelled to reject Christianity. The man who, having once possessed the gift of faith, rejects Christianity, sins morally against his conscience. The gifts of God are without repentance, and this is especially true of the gift of faith, which is at the very root of the spiritual life. If then faith is lost, it is lost by a man's own fault. Had Romanes lived, there is no doubt that he would have done his utmost to repair the mischief he had worked by his antitheistic writings. The "Thoughts" may be regarded as notes which would have been developed into a reasoned defence of Christianity. One or two quotations from these "Thoughts" will be read with interest.

Even within the region of pure reason (or the *primâ facie* case) modern science, as directed on the New Testament criticism, has surely done more for Christianity than against it. For, after half a century of battle over the text by the best scholars, the dates of the Gospels have been fixed within the first century, and at least four of St. Paul's epistles have had their authenticity proved beyond doubt. . . . There is no longer any question as to historical facts, save the miraculous, which, however, are ruled out by negative criticism on merely *a priori* grounds. . . . These are facts of the first order of importance to have proved. Old Testament criticism is as yet too immature to consider.

Or, again :

At one time it seemed to me impossible that any proposition verbally intelligible as such, could be more violently absurd than that of the doctrine of the Incarnation. Now I see that this standpoint is wholly irrational, due only to the blindness of reason itself promoted by (purely) scientific habits of thought. "But it is opposed to common sense." No doubt, utterly so ; but so it *ought* to be, if true. Common sense is merely a (rough) register of common experience ; but the Incarnation, if it ever took place, whatever else it may have been, at all events cannot have been a common event. "But it is derogatory to God to become man." How do you know? . . . Lastly, there are considerations *per contra*, rendering an Incarnation antecedently probable. On antecedent grounds these *must* be mysteries unintelligible to reason as to the nature of God, &c., supposing a revelation to be made at all. Therefore their occurrence in Christianity is no proper objection to Christianity.

The "Thoughts" are of no great intrinsic value. But they are of interest as setting before us a mind groping after the truth which it had, *pace* Canon Gore, not *conscientiously* but *culpably* abandoned.

The Christian Doctrine of Immortality. By STEWART D. F. SALMOND, M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1895. Pp. 703.

DR. SALMOND maintains that a belief in a future life is universal. He shows that savage tribes, once considered to be wanting in this belief, have been found on fuller investigation to possess it. But it is one thing to believe in a future life, and another to believe that all will attain to it. The Tongans, as we learn from our author, reserve the future life for their men of rank ; the Nicaraguans reserve it for the good, annihilation being the fate of evil-doers. And as savage tribes differ as to the inheritors of future life, so they differ as to the scene of it. Some hold that the scene of the future life is the earth itself ; others locate it in the skies ; but with the greater number it is a subterranean receptacle. Passing from the "ethnic" to the "Old Testament" preparation for the Christian doctrine of immortality, Dr. Salmond maintains that a future life of some form is one of the things most obviously presupposed all through the Old Testament. But in the earlier works of the Old Testament the future life is not put forward as the theatre of God's retributive justice. It is in this life and not in the other that lot apportions itself to merit. There is no clear and certain indication that reward and punishment pass over into Sheol, far less that Sheol is its proper scene. The punishment

executes itself here in the sinner's fortune, name, and family. The reward also fulfils itself here, and in corresponding forms. The Book of Daniel, indeed, presupposes a judgment after death, and declares final moral awards for the individual, everlasting life for one class, everlasting abhorrence for the other; nevertheless, the heavenly blessedness which the New Testament has unveiled was hidden from the Old Testament believer. Discussing the teaching of the New Testament, Dr. Salmond finds it opposed to the theories of "conditional immortality" and "restorationism," and in favour of the finality of life's spiritual decision. There is much learning in this work of Dr. Salmond's, and evidence of much ability. But we must dissent from some of our author's views; and where we agree with him we find him at times wanting in clearness, at other times in settled conviction.

The Oxford Church Movement. Sketches and Recollections.
By the late G. WAKELING. With an Introduction by EARL NELSON.
London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

"THE religious zeal which has been stirred up within the Anglican Establishment," says Lord Nelson, "has stimulated life among our Protestant nonconformists, while it is notorious that the secessions of our over-zealous friends to Rome have imparted new life and spirit to that communion also." This is a new departure. We used to be told that old Catholics were all very well, and that all the "proselytism," and the "bitterness," and the "Utramontanism" came from the converts. We now learn that these things are only a little of the "life and spirit" of the Church of England infused into the dry bones of our "communion."

The pleasantest feature of the late Mr. Wakeling's book is the specimen it affords of a simple-minded Anglican, apparently in good faith. He was evidently ever ready to be pleased with everything, to think well of everybody, and to thank God that His One True Church, that is to say, the Church of England, was so much "higher" than it had ever been before. He was constantly reminding himself of the terrible ecclesiastical enormities of the days of his youth, of the choirs in the galleries, the high-backed pews with doors to them, the "Amen-clerks," the "three-deckers," placed in front of the communion-table, the cushions on the latter, the panels with the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and even paintings of Moses and Aaron which stood over them, and the school-children sitting on the chancel-steps with their backs to the communion-table; and he seems to have been perpetually offering up mental *Te Deums* that these old

things were done away, and that all things had become new : that the millennium of choirs in the chancel, crosses, candlesticks, and vases of the very best brass on the communion-tables, and benches open at the ends, had come at last. "The secessions to Rome were of course one great trial and drawback to the movement," but "compared with the extent of the fifty years' influence, teaching, literature, devotion, and new spiritual life of the Church Movement," they "were but as a drop in the ocean." A very typical sentence is one which occurs in the description of the old chapel in Margaret Street :

Outside, after service, the hearty greetings and handshakes were a sight to see ; it was like a rallying-point for all friends of the movement. All was thoroughly English in heart and spirit, the idea of merely imitating another branch of the Church entered no one's head.

We have rarely taken up a book which lent itself more readily to criticism, or whose author oftener "gave himself away ;" but, when we consider that Mr. Wakeling has gone where he has not been asked, "how well" he has written, but "how religiously" he has "lived ;" and that, there, people are not punished for poor writing, pointless stories, feeble jokes, or invincible ignorance, we may well refrain from criticism and lay down our pen with feelings of charity and even respect.

A Forgotten Chapter of the Second Spring. By the Very Rev. Dr. CASARTELLI, M.A. London : Burns & Oates. 1895.

THIS little work has an importance quite disproportioned to its size, since it corrects the prevailing error of ascribing to the Oxford Movement too exclusive an influence in creating that revival of Catholic life in England of which the present generation has been a witness. The object of the learned author is, as he says, to show that "it was but one chapter, however glorious a one, in a complete history." He justifies this assertion by describing the wonderful work contemporaneously carried on by the Rosminian Institute, primarily through the instrumentality of two Italian members of the order, Fathers Gentili and Rinolfi. For the romantic circumstances by which the former was led to undertake his apostolate and the incessant labours of the itinerant missionaries, as well as the great results achieved by them both in reawakening Catholic zeal and in making converts from other sects, we must refer our readers to the pages of this interesting *brochure*, which is illustrated with portraits of those whose lives it narrates.

The Utopia of Sir Thomas More. By J. N. LUPTON, B.D.
Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1895.

MR. LUPTON, one of the masters of St. Paul's School, has at various times edited several treatises, hitherto unpublished, of Déan Colet, founder of that school. He has now conferred another obligation on literature by publishing a new edition of the "Utopia," the great work of Colet's friend and neighbour, the Blessed Thomas More. The recent beatification of the holy martyr renders this work doubly welcome. But, irrespective of that consideration, the book recommends itself by its own merits as a perfect and scholarly edition of this famous work. It gives both the original Latin text from the edition revised and corrected by the author, and published by Froben at Basle in 1518, and the first English translation made by Ralph Robynson in 1551. The editor has chosen this in preference to Bishop Burnet's more accurate and scholarly version, on account of its priority and its vigorous and picturesque English. Both these texts are furnished with various readings derived from other editions. There are also three fac-simile illustrations from the originals, a glossary to Robynson's quaint English, and an excellent index.

Besides presenting an accurate version of the text, the editor has enriched his work with an introduction and copious notes, of which we can speak with unqualified praise. In the former Mr. Lupton gives a sketch of More's life down to the time of the composition of the "Utopia" in 1515. He discusses the circumstances which led to its composition and the source whence he derived the idea. He compares with it other ideals of a similar character both of ancient and modern times. Lastly, he gives an account of the early editions of the "Utopia," and of the various English translations. But the editor's chief merit lies in the copious and valuable notes with which he has illustrated the text. These leave nothing to be desired from any point of view. Whilst they explain everything in the text which requires elucidation, they are brief and concise, and bear witness to deep and wide research. Above all, they are characterised by a just and fair appreciation, and are utterly devoid of any approach to anti-Catholic bias or prejudice. In fact, we may say that there is not in the whole work a word to which a Catholic could reasonably take exception. A crucial instance of the editor's candour and impartiality will be found in the note (the longest in the book) in which he deals with the well-known passage where More describes the views held by the Utopians on the subject of religious toleration. No doubt More is not always to be taken *au sérieux*. In fact, he himself warns his reader not to do so. As Sir John Macintosh says: the author

regards his own theories "with almost every possible degree of approbation and shade of assent." Sometimes he satirises prevalent abuses by suggesting some opposite extreme: at others he pokes fun at current opinions by some whimsical exaggeration: or again, he merely indulges his playful and fanciful humour without any ulterior view.

Nevertheless, as Mr. Lupton observes in the passage above referred to, "More's tone is too serious, and the arguments he makes Utopus employ too solid and convincing to allow us to regard all this as merely proper to the romance." He then has to reconcile these theories with More's practice as Chancellor in dealing with heretics. He states the case with the utmost fairness, and concludes by quoting Fr. Bridgett's favourable summary (of whose "Life" he speaks in the highest terms). But he adds: "Many people will feel a difficulty in harmonising the two pictures."

We hope that this work will find its way into the hands of many who know little more of More's "Utopia" than the name. By its perusal they will be led to discover that Blessed Thomas More was not only a devout Christian, a religious reformer in the true sense, a brilliant wit and an erudite scholar, which they probably knew before, but that he was also several hundred years in advance of his age in the treatment of social and political problems. F. W.

A Complete Manual of Canon Law. By OSWALD J. REICHEL, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A., Author of "The See of Rome in the Middle Ages," &c. Vol. I. The Sacraments. London: Hodges. 1896.

TO prevent misconception of the character of this work, we may as well state at once that it does not emanate from a Catholic source, bears no ecclesiastical *imprimatur*, minimises Catholic doctrine, and bears on nearly every page of it evidence of its origin in the city of confusion. Where clearness is especially to be desired, to wit, in definitions of the subjects dealt with, clearness is the last thing we find; vagueness, puzzle-headedness, abound everywhere, and lead a Catholic reader to thank God that for him there is a Church with a voice speaking with authority, knowing its own mind, and teaching its children without hesitation all that is necessary for faith or morals. The definition, to begin with, of a sacrament is inadequate; the institution by Christ, apparently, is not a requisite. Confirmation is, we are told, only a part of baptism; and strange things are said about the conditions which must precede the coming of the Holy Spirit. With

regard to the Holy Eucharist it is no better ; things necessary or accidental are muddled up together ; the word " mass " occurs but once, and then only in a note.

But the book may serve a useful purpose if it brings any of those for whom it appears to have been written a little nearer to Catholic unity and practice. Apart from its doctrinal aspect, it is an interesting work, showing much research ; more research, in fact, than judgment. It is crammed full of out-of-the-way information about obsolete rites and customs, forgotten bye-laws of local churches, disciplinary enactments which are of interest now only to the antiquary. Such things have their purpose, but of what value they can be in the way of guidance, even to high-church Protestants, is a question we are not in a position to answer.

L'Allemagne et la Réforme. IV. L'Allemagne depuis le traité de paix d'Augsbourg en 1555, jusqu'à la proclamation du formulaire de Concorde en 1580. Par JEAN JANSSEN. Traduit de l'Allemand sur la treizième édition, par E. PARIS. Paris: Plon. 1895.

THERE is no need to speak at any length of so well-known a work as Dr. Janssen's history of the Reformation in Germany. The original work has long since taken its place among the masterpieces of historical research ; its fulness, fairness, and faithfulness have won it the admiration of every reader. Of its influence in correcting the false opinions long current among a large number of Germans and others regarding the Reformation movement there can be no room to doubt, and those who have benefited most by the immense labour of Dr. Janssen have not been the descendants and admirers of the reformers. The French translation, which puts his work within reach of many more of our own countrymen than could profit by the original, has now reached the fourth volume, and carries down the history from 1555 to 1580. A glance at the table of contents shows that this period includes the Diet of Worms ; the attempts to protestantise Wurtemberg ; the death of Melancthon ; the negotiations between the Council of Trent and the Reformers ; the counter-effects of the religious wars in France on the state of Germany ; the labours of the Jesuit missionaries in that country, Peter Canisius and others ; the rescue of Bavaria, and the overthrow of Calvinism in the Electorate. The history of these events is carefully given and without party bias. In every case recourse has been had to the earliest and most authentic records ; indeed, the author's references are almost bewildering by their multiplicity,

some three hundred writers having been consulted for the compilation of this volume alone.

Mémoires du Comte de Paroy. Publiées par ETIENNE CHARAVAY.
Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et C^{ie}., 1895.

THE Comte de Paroy, the author of these *Mémoires*, was born in 1750. Destined for a military career, he at an early age entered the Army, in which he remained, not without distinction, for over twenty-five years. To a knowledge of arms he added a considerable taste in artistic matters, and was himself a practical engraver of some note. An ardent supporter of the royal cause throughout the tempestuous days of the Revolution, he yet escaped both the fury of the mob and the secret hatred of the revolutionary leaders. It is true that he was several times arrested, and was almost within sight of the guillotine ; but he succeeded in saving himself by his tactful answers to interrogatories and his ability to conceal his identity by passing himself off as an artist. He was an intimate courtier, took part in the defence of the Tuilleries, and in every possible way served the royal family. All his money and property were seized ; he was left penniless through his devotion to his king ; for several years he was obliged to depend upon his earnings as an engraver. However, he had the satisfaction of living down both Robespierre and Buonaparte, and of seeing Louis XVIII. enter Paris. But he experienced the bitterness of finding that all his devotion to the House of Bourbon, and all his self-sacrifice on their behalf was to meet with the basest ingratitude. Nevertheless, he never ceased to cry until his death, in 1824, "Vive le roi." His story is by no means a rare one.

Such mainly was his life, and such the reward of his trust in princes. Of his recollections, as recorded in the volume edited most carefully by M. Charavay, it can only be said that they are for the most part sane descriptions of very exciting events. Hardly any fresh light is thrown on any topic of importance, and the only novelty in the way of chatty reminiscence is a rather dull story about a distinguished schoolfellow, no less a personage than Mirabeau. Paroy appears certainly to have been an honest, straightforward man, who never allowed prejudice or passion to dominate his opinions. He does justice to his adversaries. Moreover, he seems to be generally reliable, never descends to exaggeration, and writes clearly and simply. But it cannot be said that the Comte de Paroy has contributed anything to the history of his times by keeping a diary and giving his views of the great social upheaval a century ago. All the informa-

tion he imparts has been given before, and frequently by more illustrious actors, in more vivid and picturesque language. Consequently the work before us, though it may be interesting as the account of far-reaching historical facts, given by an intelligent and well-nigh independent witness, is yet without any wonderful attractiveness. Beside recent *Memoires* on the same subject, this book of the Comte de Paroy's reminiscences is inconscionably dull. In conclusion, some surprise must be expressed that Frenchmen can never be brought to see the importance, nay, the very necessity, of that most useful appendage, an index.

R. K.

La Campagne Monarchique d'Octobre 1873. Par CHARLES CHESNELONG. Paris: Libraire Plon. 1895.

OF the important incidents of our time, perhaps few are less remembered than the negotiations with a view to the re-establishment of the Monarchy in France less than a quarter of a century ago. The agent employed by the Monarchical party in Paris to confer with the Comte de Chambord was M. Charles Chesnelong, and, after a silence of more than twenty years, he has considered it his duty, in the interests of veracity and history, to give a full account of what took place. The result is a volume of more than five hundred pages, which, if somewhat open to criticism on the score of egotism and repetition, is nevertheless exceedingly interesting, eminently readable, and of considerable historical value.

The terrible war between France and Prussia of 1870-71 was over, Paris had been convulsed by the Commune, and order had been restored under the Republic. A Ministry, under M. Thiers as President, governed the country for some time, but was defeated in 1873, when Marshal MacMahon was elected in the place of Thiers. On the 27th of August the Comte de Paris went to Frohsdorff and did homage to the Comte de Chambord, both on his own account and on that of the Orleans family. In the French Assembly the three "Rights"—the Right Centre, the Moderate Right, and the Extreme Right—were all in favour of a Monarchy and of the Comte de Chambord as its candidate, though on somewhat varying conditions. M. Chesnelong, who had not become a Monarchist until 1871, joined the Moderate Right. Protestant England, he wrote, was ruling the seas; Protestant Prussia was ruling Europe; Protestant America was absorbing people from all parts of the world; and schismatic Russia was holding out its arms towards Constantinople and Asia. Humanly

speaking, Catholicism seemed to have had its day. But Catholics knew that it must survive while all else must perish, and French Catholics cherished the hope that they were destined to be the instruments not only of its survival, but of its restoration to full power; and it seemed to M. Chesnelong that Monarchy would be the means ordained by Providence to this great end.

The different Legitimist parties in Paris agreed to appoint a commission of nine members to arrange the terms on which the Comte de Chambord was to be offered their united support, if he would come forward as a candidate for the crown of France. The question upon which there was the least unity of opinion, concerned the colour of the national flag under the proposed Monarchy. Some were for reviving the old white flag of the French kings. If they were to have a king at all, said they, he ought not to be the king of the Revolution, but the king by right divine; and the tricolour was the emblem of the great revolt against Monarchy. Marshal MacMahon, on the other hand, refused to support the candidature of the Comte de Chambord if the tricolour, under which France had won many of her most glorious victories, was to be abolished; most of the generals shared his opinions on this subject, and it was believed that the loyalty of the whole army would depend upon the retention of the flag to which it was so strongly attached. There were others who suggested, as a compromise, that the national flag should be tricoloured on one side and white on the other, and that on either side should be placed a fleur-de-lis. Preliminary conditions on this and other questions having been agreed upon, M. Chesnelong was selected to negotiate, single-handed, with the Comte de Chambord.

On the 14th of October, M. Chesnelong arrived at Salzburg, and was there received by the Comte de Chambord, no one else being present at the interviews. The constitutional conditions laid down by M. Chesnelong, on behalf of his colleagues, were accepted by the Prince with little, if any, hesitation; and if difficulties or misapprehensions presented themselves to his mind on first hearing them, they were speedily dispelled; but, when the subject of "*le drapeau*" was mentioned, it was quite another matter. He declared that he had no vulgar desire for power, for its own sake; but that he would be glad to sacrifice his life for his country. There were none the less two things which even France could not fairly ask him to yield—namely, his principles and his honour; both of which he declared to be deeply affected by the question of the flag. M. Chesnelong replied that, if the tricolour had begun as the emblem of revolution, it had ended by becoming that of law and order. Beneath the tricolour, France had

not only won numberless glorious victories over her enemies, but had defended society, civilisation, and the Papacy itself, from the invasions of anarchy and the ravages of communism. With the tricolour in her hand again, France was about to welcome Henri V. as her king, and to replace him on the throne of his forefathers.

She was not going to ask him to renounce either his flag or his principles; nor ought he, on his side, to require her to resign a flag associated with her greatest triumphs as well as her patriotic sufferings. While M. Chesnelong assured the Prince that his throne, and with it the welfare and the future of his country, depended upon his toleration, in some form or other, of the tricolour, and recounted the avowals of the Duc de Broglie, Marshal MacMahon, the Duc Pasquier, and General Changarnier that, without it, a restoration of the Monarchy would be impossible, the Prince remained silent, calm, dignified, and apparently unmoved; but, after a pause, he exclaimed: "I will never consent to the tricolour!" After much discussion, and at the earnest entreaty of M. Chesnelong, the Prince at last promised to endure the presence of the tricolour until he had ascended the throne, provided that the whole question of what should be the national flag should afterwards be submitted for his consideration, and that the matter should finally be decided by himself and the Assembly.

On the return of M. Chesnelong to Paris there were anxious meetings of the various sections of the Monarchical party. On the whole things appeared to promise very well, until the journals, both Legitimist and Liberal, made exaggerated statements of the position, and gave incorrect reports of what took place at a great Monarchical meeting. The disastrous effects of half-truths soon became apparent, and, worse still, a letter from the Comte de Chambord himself made confusion worse confounded.

In this letter he declared that he would never become the "King of the Revolution." The white flag had always led the way to victory, and he was now asked to sacrifice the symbol of his principles and the pledge of his honour. His person was nothing; his principle was everything. There was much to the same effect; but the letter, eloquent, though rhapsodical, might have done no great harm if the Prince had not sent a copy of it to the *Union* for publication, at the same time that he forwarded it to M. Chesnelong. The result of its appearance in the public press was decisive. The Monarchical campaign was at once brought to an end, and, within three weeks, the "Septennat" was voted.

The Comte de Chambord, says M. Chesnelong, was, and will remain in history, one of the noblest and most attractive characters

of his period ; and, after paying a high tribute to his piety, our author tells us that, on social and political questions, the Prince was at the same time very generous and very obstinate ; that he was guilty of a grave error, from the consequences of which his country has suffered grievously, and is likely long to suffer ; but that in erring he believed himself to be sacrificing his personal interests rather than sully his honour, and to be refusing a crown rather than repudiate his principles.

Strangers at Lisconnel. By JANE BARLOW. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1895.

WE can scarcely pass a greater panegyric on Miss Barlow's recent volume than to say it forms a worthy sequel to her first, with which it is classed on the title-page, as "A Second Series of Irish Idylls." Untrammelled by the exigencies of a connected plot, she shows at her best in these detached glimpses of Irish peasant life, with its pathos idealised, and its very squalor glorified by her poetic imagination. It is interesting in this respect to contrast her work with that of another lady equally eminent in the same field, and to place her picture of Irish manners beside that given by Miss Emily Lawless in "Grania." Both are true, but the shadows in the latter form its sombre foundation, while in the former they are almost lost in the artist's light-focussing vision. Miss Barlow's incisiveness of descriptive epithet enables her to transfer to her pages with a few touches the glow and colour of the scenery of Connemara, with its "fairy-zoned July sunsets," its fields of potatoes and oats "green and gold, meshed in their grey stone fences," and its purple mountains with ravines and fences and fields showing through the mist on their flanks, "as if a fragment of the country-side were reflected on a dark thundercloud." The very dandelions "set flat in the fine sward like mock suns" are not forgotten, nor "the silky floss" of the bog-cotton that waves over the peaty morass. Human traits are outlined with equal insight, and with a profound sense of the tragedy underlying the superficial aspects of life.

The Life of a Conspirator. Being a Biography of Sir Everard Digby. By the Author of "The Life of a Prig," &c. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 8vo. xvi.—306.

THE history of the Gunpowder Plot has certainly been told and discussed often ; but in "The Life of a Conspirator" the atti-

tude of English Catholics as regards the plot, and in many cases their complete ignorance of it, is very clearly brought before us.

The book is principally the account of the life (and death) of one man concerned with that horrible conspiracy; but of necessity it includes many characters, and Catesby's overwhelming influence over all the Catholics with whom he came into close contact, and especially over the hero of the book, Sir Everard Digby, is plainly shown.

The author in this life of his ancestor has portrayed his character with great fairness and impartiality. He shows Sir Everard, though of a conscientious and deeply religious mind, to have had always a natural bent towards strategy, and what, to modern eyes, might seem like underhand ways; but which were doubtless, in the days of Elizabeth and James I., necessary precautions in a convert.

The same fairness characterises the author's comments on the position of Catholics in our country at that time.

The book deals with Sir Everard's personal history, describes his own and his wife's conversion, his own intimate connection with the Jesuits, as well as his great, almost brotherly, love for Father Gerard, the member of that order who received him into the Church.

In reading this account one cannot for a moment doubt Sir Everard's good faith in joining the conspirators. But one does wonder how so naturally good and upright a gentleman should not have seen the iniquity of the plot which he bound himself to aid and abet. It is accounted for to some extent by the latent weakness of character and the unbounded devotion to his friends displayed by him all through his short and troubled life. That he acted through no selfish motives is plain; for he gave up, for what he considered the good of his faith and fellow-Catholics, his wife, his little children, and his home, to say nothing of his wealth and position, at the instigation of Robert Catesby, in whom he evidently believed with all his heart, and to whose account must be laid Sir Everard's whole connection with the Gunpowder Plot. The author's account of the trial of the conspirator in Westminster Hall is graphic in its simplicity, and draws our sympathies to the young man who, however misguided and wrong, stood his trial with dignity and calmness, heard his cruel sentence pronounced by Coke, with all its ghastly details accentuated, without flinching, and went to the scaffold owning his treachery, and repenting it, while he accepted his hideous death as an expiation for his crime. The book contains a portrait of Sir Everard, which represents him as a man looking far older than his years, which were barely five-and-twenty at the time of his death. There are pictures also of Gothurst (or Gayhurst as it is now called), the house that came to him with his wife, and in one of these is a mark showing the spot where was the

secret chamber, built by Sir Everard's desire, to provide a hiding-place for Catholics in time of need. This hiding-place, the author tells us, was demolished about twenty years ago.

The Fifth of November. By the Author of "Marion Howard," &c. London: Burns & Oates.

THE moral courage of a little Catholic boy in refusing to join in the No-Popery celebrations of the November anniversary, is made, in the first of these tales, the means by which an entire family are converted. Nor is its interest, or that of its three companion stories, marred by their aim at edification as well as entertainment, since the vivacity of the narrative renders them charming reading for old and young alike. As in the best religious stories, the moral is conveyed in the incidents themselves, and is nowhere obtruded by the writer, in the fashion which is the reproach of "goody-goody" literature. The only sermon here preached is the silent one of example, all the more efficacious because combined with the story-teller's art which gives life to the characters and incidents portrayed.

Our Own Story. By ROSA MULHOLLAND. London: Catholic Truth Society.

MISS MULHOLLAND'S name is a sufficient guarantee for the charm of her pages, and this collection of nine short tales shows no weakening of the spell by which she holds her readers. The longest is a novelette of nearly a hundred pages which gives its name to the volume, is full of incident and movement realised with imaginative grasp of the subject. The shorter episodes that follow stand out no less clearly in their more succinct treatment, and one or two exhibit the rare gift of pathos without exaggeration for the sake of effect.

** * * Owing to the extra space required for the Sixty Years' General List of Articles (1836-1896), a number of Book Notices, as well as a list of Books Received, have had to be left over till next issue.*

THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

GENERAL LIST OF ARTICLES.

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¹ The list of authors in this series has been compiled by collation of the editorial memoranda published in the *Irish Monthly*, vols. xxi., xxii., with the lists in Oscott Library. In case of discrepancy not yet reconciled, * indicates the *I. M.* list; † the Oscott list.

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¹ "Note on Mesmerism by Palmer."†

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| I. Höninghaus' Protestant Evidences of Catholicity. | [<i>Robertson</i>]. |
| II. Medical Notices. | [<i>Palmer</i>]. |
| III. Faith and Literature of the Armenians. | [<i>Hattersley</i>]. |
| IV. Henry of Monmouth. | [<i>F. Lucas</i>]. |
| V. Transatlantic Travelling. | |
| VI. Confessions of St. Augustine. | [<i>Dr. C. Russell</i>]. |
| VII. Statistics of Population. | [<i>J. F. Palmer</i>]. |
| VIII. Poems by George Croker Fox. | [<i>Dr. Dartnell</i>]. |
| IX. Modern English Novels. | |
| X. The Liberty of the Press. | [<i>Bagshawe</i>]. |

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- I. Arbitrary Power—Popery—Protestantism. [MacMahon, M.P.].
- II. Prejudices of Our Popular Literature. [Dr. C. Russell].
- III. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. [Hattersley].
- IV. Margaret Beaufort, Mother of Henry VII. [F. Lucas].
- V. German Translation of the Pickwick Papers. [Dr. C. Russell].
- VI. Gibbon: the Infidel Historian and his Protestant Editors. [Rev. Dr. Miley].
- VII. Lamartine's Poetry. [Prof. Murray, Maynooth].
- VIII. State and Prospects of Catholicity in England. [Dr. Wiseman].
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- I. Mores Catholici, or the Ages of Faith. [Bagshawe].
- II. Waterton's Autobiography. [*Chas. Brett, †Weld].
- III. Did the Anglican Church Reform Herself? [Dr. Lingard].
- IV. Civil and Religious Education in Belgium. [Steinmetz].
- V. Fraser's Travels in Koordistan and Mesopotamia. [Hattersley].
- VI. Temperance Movement in Ireland. [M. J. Quin].
- VII. Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval and the DUBLIN REVIEW. [Dr. Maguire].
- VIII. Persecutions in the East. [Dr. Wiseman].

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- I. Staudenmaier's Spirit of Christianity.
- II. Recent No-Popery Novels.
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- IV. Hungary and Transylvania.
- V. Affairs of Cologne: Hermesian Doctrines.
- VI. Jean Paul F. Richter.
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- I. Arbitrary Power—Popery—Protestantism.
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- III. Jones on the Value of Annuities and the Society for Diffusing Knowledge.
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of Anglican Church.
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- II. "Unity" and "Catholicity" of the English Protestant Church.
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- IV. Crown Grants of Public Fisheries in Ireland.
- V. Cardinal Mai's Historical Palimpsest. [Dr. C. Russell].
- VI. Van Diemen's Land under the Prison System.
- VII. Schiller.
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- II. Lingard's History of England [? C. R.; MacMahon, M.P.].
- III. The Armenian Convent of San Lazzaro at Venice. [Dr. C. Russell].
- IV. Afghanistan.
- V. St. Etienne du Mont, Paris. [Prof. Kelly, Maynooth].
- VI. Switzerland—Convents of Argau. [Leahy, O.P.].
- VII. Weights, Measures, and Coinage. [de Morgan].
- VIII. Frederick the Great and his Times. [T. C. Anstey].
- IX. Lives of the Queens of England. [Bagshawe].
- X. Protestantism of the Anglican Church. [Dr. Wiseman].

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- V. Why is Ireland exempted from the Income Tax?
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- V. The Religious Movement.
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- VII. Ireland and her Grievances.
- VIII. Cardinal Pacca's Memoirs.
- IX. Carlyle's "Past and Present." [†Le P. Renouf].
- X. Life of Grattan.
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- IV. Miss Nano Nagle.
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- VI. Life of Bishop Bedell.
- VII. History of St. Andrews.
- VIII. Irish Agitation and French Revolution.
- IX. Ancient and Modern Catholicity.
- X. Dickens' Christmas Carol. [Dr. C. Russell].
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- II. Veneration of the Saints in the Early Church. } [*†Le Page Renouf*].
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- V. Neale's Tour to the Ancient Churches of England.
- VI. French Religious Liberty—The Jesuits.
- VII. China.
- VIII. Irish Language and Literature—Archbishop McHale.
- IX. On Minor Rites and Offices.
- X. Ordnance Memoir—Ireland.
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- VIII. Church and Empire in the Thirteenth Century. [*†Le P. Renouf*].
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- III. Baily's Experiment on the Mean Density of the Earth.
- IV. Father Ripa's Residence at the Court of Peking.
- V. The Anglo-Saxon and Ancient British Churches.
- VI. Medical Practice Throughout the United Kingdom.
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- III. Difficulties of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. [*†Le P. Renouf*].
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- V. Ancient Irish Dominican Schools.
- VI. Egypt and Mehemet Ali.
- VII. Mary, Queen of Scots. [*Dr. C. Russell*].
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- V. Hood's *Poems*. [*Dr. Murray*].
- VI. *Foreign Lotteries*. [*W. G. Ward*].
- VII. Steinmetz's *Noviciate among the Jesuits*. [*Dr. Wiseman*].
- VIII. *Lyra Innocentium*, by the Author of *the Christian Year*. [*J. H. Newman*].
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- II. On the Blood—The Physical Cause
of the Death of Christ. [A. J. Christie, S.J.].
- III. Motherwell's Poems. [Dr. C. Russell].
- IV. On Helps to Calculation. [de Morgan].
- V. McCabe's Catholic History of England. [Croll].
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- II. Walsh's Popular Irish Songs. [Dr. Murphy].
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- IV. Auerbach's Tales of the Black Forest. [Dr. C. Russell].
- V. Colonial Emigration. [J. P. Campbell].
- VI. Irish Evangelicals—Dr. O'Brien, Lord
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- III. Fortune's Wanderings in China. [Dr. Murphy].
- IV. Dunlop's Travels in Central America. [E. Kenealy].
- V. The Early Jesuit Missions in North [Dr. Murphy].
America.
- VI. The Canon of Sacred Scripture. [W. Bridges].
- VII. The Life of St. Philip Neri. [Bagshawe].
- VIII. Bunsen's Church of the Future. [W. G. Ward].
- IX. Malou on the Indiscriminate Use of [Formby and Bernard].
the Bible.
- X. Our Lady Novelists—Lady Geogiana [Dr. C. Russell].
Fullerton.
- XI. Johnson, his Contemporaries and Bio- [Roach].
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- IV. Adventures in the South Seas. [Dasent].
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History.
- VI. Mr. Brownson on Developments. [W. G. Ward].
- VII. The Russo - Greek and Oriental [T. Marshall].
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- IV. Vicary's Residence at Rome in 1846. [Dr. C. Russell].
- V. Irish Fisheries. } [McMahon, M.P.].
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- VII. Protestant Learning—Dr. Hook and [F. Lewis].
Mr. Eden.
- VIII. The Apocryphal History of England. [W. B. McCabe].
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- VII. The Superstitions of Unbelief. [W. B. McCabe].
- VIII. Andin's Henry VIII. [D. C. Heron].
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- VI. Erman's Travels in Siberia. [H. R. St. John].
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- II. Measures for Ireland—Tillage, Waste Land, Fixity of Tenure. [McMahon].
- III. The Stellinga—Saxony in the Ninth Century. [W. B. McCabe].
- IV. Corrected Editions of the Gradual and Vespers. [Formby].
- V. Artists of the Order of St. Dominic. [J. M. Capes].
- VI. Dr. Channing. [Dr. Murphy].
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- X. Spanish National Art — English National Art. [Dr. Wiseman].

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- III. The Duke of Marlborough—Usages of War. [F. Lucas].
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- VI. The Portuguese Schism in India. [J. G. Wenham].
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¹ So *I. M.*, but Oscott: IV. Wenham, V. Campbell.

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- II. Catholic Hymnology. [Dr. C. Russell].
- III. Colonisation and Emigration. [Mrs. Percy Sinnett].
- IV. The Sacred Congregations of Rome. [Dr. Grant, Rome].
- V. Curzon's Visits to Monasteries in the Levant. [Dr. Murphy].
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- III. Aytoun's Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers. [Dr. C. Russell].
- IV. France since the Revolution of February. [Robertson].
- V. The Ireland of Cuba: its Resources, Progress, and Prospects. [W. B. McCabe].
- VI. MacCabe's Catholic History of England. [Dr. C. Russell].
- VII. The Art of Puffing. [Dr. Wiseman].
- VIII. Faber's Hymns. [Oakeley].
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- IV. Duke of Argyll on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland. [Dr. C. Russell].
- V. Irish Factions, Parsons, and Landlords. [Crollly].
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- IV. The Priest's Hidden Life. [Dr. Wiseman].
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- VI. Cambrensis and his Adversaries: White and Lynch. [Dr. C. Russell].
- VII. M'Carthy's Poems. [Jno. O'Hagan].
- VIII. Newman's Discourses. [W. G. Ward].
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- II. The Coptic Church. [Rev. D. F. McLeod].
- III. The Government Criminal Returns. [J. Morris].
- IV. Nineveh and its Remains. [Crolly].
- V. Hancock's Impediments to the Prosperity of Ireland. [McMahon, M.P.].
- VI. The Inquisition. [Dr. C. Russell].
- VII. Dr. Achilli. [Dr. Wiseman].

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- II. Dyer's Life of Calvin. } [Dr. C. Russell].
- III. De Rossi's Ancient Christian Inscriptions. }
- IV. Early Norse Poetry. Translations of the Breton Lays. [Charlton].
- V. Ireland—Review of the Session. [McMahon, M.P.].
- VI. German Prophecies on the State of the Church. [Robertson].
- VII. Life and Death of Oliver Plunkett. [Rev. D. Murphy].
- VIII. Carlyle's Works. [O'Hagan].
- IX. Newman's Anglican Difficulties. [Dr. C. Russell].
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- IV. Northern Literature. [Dr. Charlton].
- V. Allies on the Primacy. [Dr. C. Russell].
- VI. Catholicism a Conservative Principle. [W. G. Ward].
- VII. Merryweather's Glimmerings in the Dark. [Dr. C. Russell].
- VIII. Ireland—A Peasant Proprietary. [McMahon, M.P.].
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- II. The Greek Church—Nationalism and Catholicism. [Allies].
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- V. "Mummeries" in the Early Church—the Sign of the Cross. [Dr. C. Russell].
- VI. Dr. Pusey's Teaching and Practice. [Oakeley].
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- III. Dr. Jarcke's Political Essays. [Robertson].
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- V. Patterson's Tour in Egypt, Palestine, &c. [E. Walford].
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- V. Catholic and Protestant Hermeneutics—The Primacy. [Dr. C. Russell].
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¹ In *I.M.* "Aubrey de Vere." See below.

² In *I.M.* "Aubrey de Vere." But Mr. A. de Vere disclaims these articles (private note).

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- I. Libri and the Public Libraries of France. [E. Ryley].
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- VI. Our Ministry of Public Instruction. [Card. Wiseman].
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¹ So *I.M.*, Mr. A. de Vere disclaims the authorship.

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¹ In this and the subsequent two Series, for reasons stated in article, p. 249, the names of authors have not been given except in the case of articles signed when originally published.

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